THE CHRISTIAN IN PALESTINE

Ex-libris
Charles Atwood
Kofoid
BMC

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

GEISEL LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO
LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

THE

CHRISTIAN IN PALESTINE,

BY HENRY STEBBING, D.D. F.R.S.

The drawings recently taken on the spot,

By W. H. Bartlett.

W.H. Bartlett

John Cousen

Scene near Ramlah

THE

CHRISTIAN IN PALESTINE;

OR,

SCENES OF SACRED HISTORY,

Historical and Descriptive.

BY HENRY STEBBING, D. D., F. R. S.

ILLUSTRATED FROM SKETCHES TAKEN ON THE SPOT,

BY W. H. BARTLETT.

LONDON:—GEORGE VIRTUE.

LONDON:
JOSEPH RICKERBY, PRINTER,
SHERBOURN LANE.

PREFACE.

THE writer of the present work has been anxious to give such an account of the most interesting portions of Palestine, as may serve to illustrate both the historical and present character of the country.

As authorities for the descriptions of the places spoken of, he has carefully examined the works of the most distinguished travellers, foreign as well as English. It has been his wish to show in what spirit these different writers have contemplated the objects which they describe, and thus to enable the reader to find the most natural channel for his thoughts, or the best aid for his associations.

In connexion with these topographical accounts, the writer has introduced some historical details; and he has ventured, from time to time, to express the feelings which the subject, so full of what is great, wonderful, and pathetic, excited in his mind. It will afford him no ordinary satisfaction, if the work should prove interesting to the Christian reader; and, still more, if it should be found useful in impressing upon any one, a stronger sense of the realities with which his religion has ever been connected; and will be, as by a natural bond, through all remaining times.

It need scarcely be added, that the pictorial illustrations of this volume may be regarded as faithfully descriptive of the scenes which they represent. Mr. Bartlett's reputation is too well established to render this praise necessary. He is an experienced and intelligent traveller, as well as an accomplished artist. The tone and feeling which characterize his drawings, are in harmony with the spirit of the best writers on the Holy Land. They have, therefore, a higher value than that derived from any ordinary artistic merit, and deserve a corresponding attention.

In some few instances, no materials could be found for any correct literary account of the scenes depicted. The author has considered it better, in these cases, to trust to the fidelity of the artist, than to give a description little better than imaginary. But in respect to the illustrations generally, he has endeavoured to treat of the subjects to which they refer, not as subordinate to the plates, but in their larger and more historical aspect. It is not often necessary to tell the reader what is already told him by a skilful engraving. The author hopes, therefore, that by following the suggestions of the artist, without confining himself to them, he may have brought into more distinct relief some of the most important facts connected with the destinies of PALESTINE.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—Early Intercourse of Christians with the Holy Land	1
II.—The Road to Jerusalem—From Tripoli to Acre	25
III.—From Acre to Nazareth, and Cana of Galilee	40
IV.—From Nazareth to Tiberias	55
V.—From Tiberias to Julias Bethsaida	83
VI.—From the Lake of Tiberias to Samaria	108
VII.—From Samaria to Jerusalem	121
VIII.—Jerusalem—The Holy Sepulchre	128
IX.—Via Captivitatis—Gethsemane—Mount of Olives—Via Dolorosa	143
X.—Mount Zion and Mount Moriah—Acre and Bezetha	151
XI.—Places of Note round Jerusalem	164
XII.—Jericho and the Dead Sea	174
XIII.—Hebron and its Environs	186
XIV.—From Hebron to Petra	194
XV.—Mount Sinai and the surrounding Region	209
XVI.—Conclusion: Cesaræa—Rhodes—Athens—Rome	230

LIST OF PLATES.

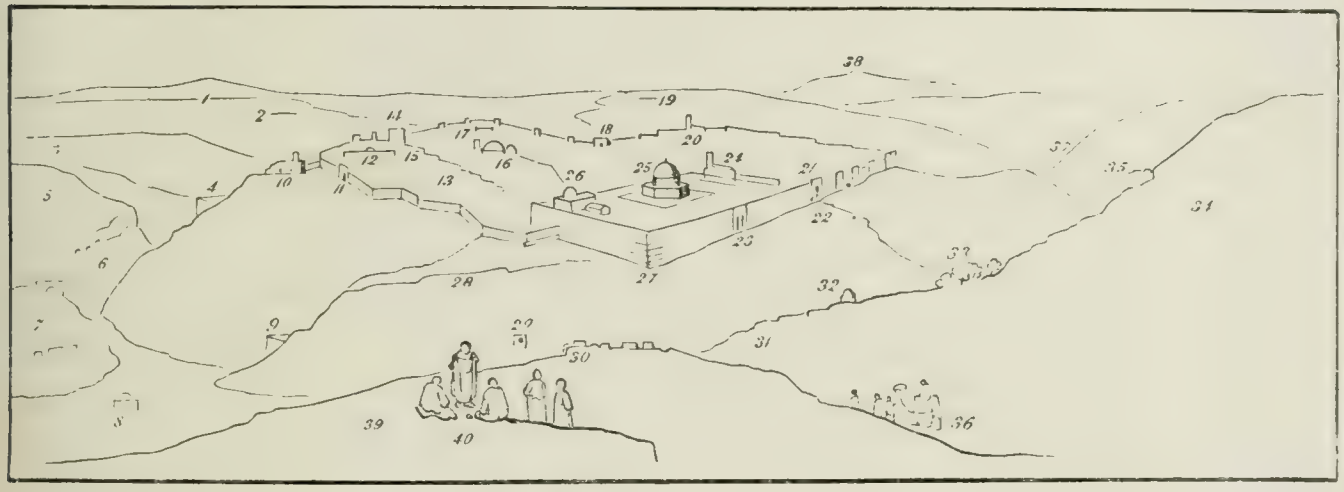
	To face Page
Vignette—Scene near Ramla	
Map of Palestine	1
Shrine of the Nativity, Bethlehem	3
Well near Emmaus	4
Interior of the House of a Christian Family	24
Sidon and Mount Lebanon, from the Sea	30
Sarepta and the Coast of Sidon	32
Mount Carmel	41
Vale of Nazareth	44
Well of the Virgin	46
Well at Nazareth	46
Nazareth, looking towards the Plain of Esdraelon	49
Mount Tabor, looking towards Gilboa and the Jordan	60
Nain	65
Plain of Esdraelon, from Jenin	68
Jezreel, Mount Gilboa, and Beth-shan	70
Arab Camp, near Mount Tabor	72
Tiberias	74
Baths and City of Tiberias	80
The Lake of Tiberias	88
Mount Hermon, Upper Valley of the Jordan	90
Lake of Tiberias, from the Castle of Saphet	92
Valley of Sichem and Nablous	95
Samaritans showing the Book of the Law	107
Colonnade at Sebaste, Samaria	110
The Hill of Samaria	116
Jacob's Well at Sychar	119
Mount Gerizim and the Vale of Nablous	121
Wells and Remains of the Pool at Bethel	122
Seilun, Site of Shiloh	123
Church at Shiloh	123
Gibeah, from Michmash	124
Ramleh, with the Hills of Judea	124
Gibeah, from Neby Samwil	124
Anata, (Anathoth,) Hill Country, Judea	124
Modern Jerusalem (*double plate*)	126
Church of the Holy Sepulchre	131
Cavern where the Holy Cross was found	139
Pool of Hezekiah, Jerusalem	144

	To face Page
The Garden of Gethsemane	144
Tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat	145
Tomb of the Virgin, Jerusalem	145
Jews' Place of Wailing	145
Pool of Siloam	146
Mount of Olives, from the Wall	146
The Mount of Olives and Jerusalem, N.E.	146
Lower Pool of Gihon	147
Arch in the Via Dolorosa	149
Mount Zion, from the Hill of Evil Counsel	151
Roman and Mediæval Masonry, Jerusalem	151
Façade of the Tombs of the Kings, Jerusalem	153
Tower of Hippicus	153
Enclosure of the Haram, Jerusalem	154
The Golden Gate, Jerusalem	159
Rachel's Tomb	164
Bethlehem	165
Greek Church, at Bethlehem	166
Basilica, at Bethlehem	166
Etham, near Bethlehem	168
Fields of Bethany	169
Solomon's Pools, near Bethlehem	170
Zekoa and the Herodian	171
Plain of Jericho, looking towards Moab	175
Greek Bathing-Place, near Jordan	178
Halt above the North End of the Dead Sea	180
Convent of Santa Saba	183
Hebron	186
Pool at Hebron	189
Haram at Hebron	190
Ancient Masonry, near Hebron	193
Plan of Petra	194
Plain Er-Rahah, Mount Sinai	209
Suez, from the Mounds of the Ancient Canal	228
Fair at Khan et Tujjar	230
Cesaræa	230
Harbour of Rhodes	231
Sanur	231
Mars Hill, at Athens	232
The Parthenon, at Athens	232
Rome from the Capitol	234

K E Y

TO THE

VIEW OF MODERN JERUSALEM.



1. JAFFA ROAD.—Enters the city by the Jaffa Gate, which is concealed behind the Tower of Hippicus. This is the road by which pilgrims and travellers usually arrive from the coast.

2. UPPER POOL OF GIHON.—A square pool, probably of high antiquity; around it are the tombs of the Turkish cemetery, one of which is conspicuous in the view.

3. PLAIN OF REPHAIM.—The Bethlehem road crosses this plain, of which a portion only is seen; it enters the city by the Jaffa Gate.

4. LOWER POOL OF GIHON, (scarcely visible from this point, as it lies rather higher up the valley of Hinnom.)—A large pool, of great antiquity, of which only the edge can be seen from this point; along the side of it passes the aqueduct from Bethlehem, which is conducted into the Temple area.

5. HILL OF EVIL COUNSEL.—A bold height opposite Mount Zion. On its summit are some obscure ruins, and in its sides, above the valley, are numerous tombs.

6. VALLEY OF HINNOM.—This valley, rising in the high land near the Jaffa Gate, defends the south-west side of Mount Zion.

7. TOMBS AND "ACELDAMA."—These tombs, which are very numerous, are cut in the rocky side of the hill, and are of various antiquity. The supposed site of the "Aceldama" is occupied by the arched building, formerly a receptacle for dead bodies.

8. EN ROGEL.—A deep well, supposed to be identical with En Rogel, in the centre of a fertile tract, at the junction of the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, formerly called the King's Gardens, and irrigated from the Pool of Siloam above.

9. POOL OF SILOAM.—Was at the mouth of the Valley of the Tyropeon; according to Josephus, the present is identical in position; only the edge can be seen from this point. The water is brought from the Pool of the Virgin by a subterraneous passage cut through the Hill of Ophel. (See 29.) Just below is a remarkable tree, the traditional place of martyrdom of the prophet Isaiah.

10. TOMB OF DAVID.—Mosque, originally a Christian church; and Armenian convent; the former containing the traditional tomb, not shown to Christians or Jews. Near at hand is the Protestant Cemetery.

11. ZION GATE.—The only gate between the Jaffa Gate and that of St. Stephen; within are the habitations of the lepers.

12. ARMENIAN CONVENT.—Occupies the level-part of Mount Zion: the church of St. James, belonging to it, of which the dome is seen, is very handsome, the buildings of the Convent extensive, and the gardens delightful.

13. JEWISH QUARTER.—Extends over the slope of Mount Zion, from the Armenian Convent to the Temple. with which it formerly communicated by a bridge, of which a portion (not seen) still exists on the temple side.

14. CITADEL (TOWER OF HIPPICUS) NEAR THE JAFFA GATE.—The citadel, principally of the middle ages, is defended on the side of the Valley of Hinnom by a fosse, not seen. The large square tower is the *Hippicus* of Josephus, a very important starting-point in its topography.

15. ENGLISH CHURCH.—The foundation of the English Episcopal Church on Mount Zion is near the Tower of Hippicus.

16. CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND GREEK CONVENT.—The centre dome is erected over the supposed sepulchre, the identity of which is, however, disputed; it was without the second wall of the Ancient City. The church is extensive. The convent of the Greek monks adjoins it.

17. LATIN CONVENT.—The usual stopping place of travellers in Jerusalem.

18. DAMASCUS GATE.—A Saracenic structure.

19. TOMBS OF THE KINGS.—The Damascus road passes near the Tombs of the Kings, (so called,) but more probably the tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene. They are excavated in the rock; the position of the square court only is seen in the view.

20. TURKISH MOSQUE IN BEZETHA.—This quarter of the city is principally occupied by the Turks, and is thinly inhabited.

21. CHURCH OF ST. ANNE.—A Gothic building of the time of the Crusades, now converted into a mosque.

22. GATE OF ST. STEPHEN.—So called from the tradition that St. Stephen was stoned just without it. This is the gate by which the road from Bethany and Jericho enters the city; immediately below is the Garden of Gethsemane. (See 33.)

23. GOLDEN GATE.—A magnificent gate of Roman architecture, either of Herod's Temple or Adrian's Fortress; now closed up, but the interior is perfect.

24. GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, (FORT ANTONIA.)—This building stands on a rock, unquestionably the site of Fort Antonia. There is a fine view of the courts of the Temple from its roof.

25. MOSQUE OF OMAR.—A magnificent Saracenic structure, occupying the site of the Temple of Solomon. It stands on a raised platform of marble, approached through the gates seen in the view. The vast enclosure around it is interdicted to Christians.

26. MOSQUE OF EL AKSA.—Another extensive Mosque, perhaps originally a Christian Basilica, standing at the south extremity of the enclosure; beneath it is an ancient gate, now closed, of the same date as the "Golden," leading up into it.

27. REMARKABLE JEWISH MASONRY.—The large stones, forming part of the ancient Temple wall, are very conspicuous at this point; the masonry of the upper part of the wall is much smaller and of later date. Within are the vaults, supporting this part of the Temple area.

28. OPHEL.—The site of this quarter of the Ancient City is now covered with olives.

29. FOUNTAIN OF THE VIRGIN.—An ancient fountain, communicating with that of Siloam by a subterraneous passage cut in the rock.

30. VILLAGE OF SILOAM.—A miserable village built among the tombs, overhanging the Valley of Jehoshaphat; only the top of its buildings can be seen.

31. VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT, JEWISH CEMETERY.—The Valley of Jehoshaphat, or of the brook Kidron, merely a dry water-course, rises in the high land near the Tombs of the Kings, slopes round all the north-east side of Jerusalem, and unites with that of Hinnom at En Rogel. The portion under the Temple wall, on the opposite side, is occupied by the Jewish Cemetery, of which the flat tombs appear.

32. TOMB OF ABSALOM.—This tomb, and others near it, hewn in the rock facing the temple, constitute the most remarkable group about the city. They are of Græco-Egyptian architecture.

33. GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE AND TOMB OF THE VIRGIN.—A group of very old olive-trees, traditionally so called; behind them is the subterraneous Chapel of the Tomb of the Virgin.

34. MOUNT OF OLIVES.—The Mount of Olives overlooks Jerusalem on the east, being one hundred and seventy-five feet higher than Mount Zion. It is still scattered over with olive-trees, and there are pathways across to Bethany, whence Christ entered into Jerusalem. On the summit is the Church of the Ascension.

35. CHAPEL OF THE PREDICTION.—A small chapel on the Mount of Olives, the traditional site of Christ's prediction of the ruin of Jerusalem.

36. CAMEL-ROAD FROM BETHANY AND JERICHO.—This crosses the lower part of the Mount of Olives, and enters the city by St. Stephen's Gate. A caravan is here passing.

37. ROAD TO ANATA.—Near the summit of the hill on this road is the finest view of the city.

38. NEBI SAMWIL.—A remarkable hill about four miles from the city, supposed, by Dr. Robinson, to be the ancient Mizpeh.

39. HILL OF OFFENCE.—This is, in fact, a portion of the range of the Mount of Olives; so called because the traditional site of Solomon's worship of Ashtaroth.

40. GROUP OF ARABS.

PALESTINE

WITH

PART OF SYRIA

THE TEMPLE

Longitude East of Greenwich

Drawn & Engraved by W. Hughes, 6, Bouverie St. Holborn

London, Published by G. Virtue, 26, Ivy Lane.

THE CHRISTIAN IN PALESTINE.

EARLY INTERCOURSE OF CHRISTIANS WITH THE HOLY LAND.

But few generations have passed, since the time when Palestine was known only to the most adventurous and enthusiastic of travellers. Even pilgrims and devout warriors encountered with a feeling of awe the perils of the way by which they were to reach its shores. The seas and deserts which separated it from the rest of the world, seemed impassable to other men. When the spirit which animated the leaders of the first Crusade seized upon the popular mind, unnumbered multitudes were seen thronging the highways of France and Italy, ready to precipitate themselves upon the provinces of the East. Never had an expedition been begun more fatal to the greater part of those by whom it was attempted. Thousands of the trembling devotees, who had hoped to reach the holy sepulchre, perished on the way. New terrors were thus added to those with which the journey to Palestine had been contemplated by the generality of men; nor was it till after the Crusaders had formed a temporary establishment in the country, that the species of supernatural awe, which was mingled with the feeling of its sanctity, began to diminish, and to leave the mind free to estimate aright the real difficulties and dangers of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

It was at a very early period after the establishment of the gospel, that the more fervent and courageous of Christians adopted the practice of seeking the banks of the Jordan, and the sacred spots of Bethlehem and Calvary, in the hope of still further quickening their faith in evangelical tradition. The Emperor Constantine, soon after his conversion, turned his attention to the state of Jerusalem. It was with peculiar interest that he listened to the accounts given him of the sufferings and triumphs of the Saviour. The scenes amid which they had occurred became sacred to his imagination. His mother, Helena, was still more affected by the recitals of those who had lately visited Palestine. Constantine, accordingly, directed that means should be employed to clear the spot in which the blessed Jesus had been buried, and to prepare materials for the erection of a church, which might be worthy of Christian admiration. It is but right, he said in his letter to Macarius,

the bishop, that that place which is nobler than all other places in the world, should be adorned with a magnificence proper to its glory.

The aged Helena beheld the piety, as she had the fortunes of her son, with profound gratitude to God. She was anxious to prove her thankfulness in the sight of the world, and to set an example, according to the spirit of the age, of zeal and devotion. Disregarding, therefore, the weight and infirmities of her years, she resolved on visiting the holy places of Palestine herself, and on inspecting the spots where she might raise the most useful and durable monuments to the honour of her Saviour. Her journey was marked by numberless acts of true Christian charity. Wherever she passed the poor were provided for by her bounty: the hungry were fed, the naked clothed. Many who had been unjustly cast into prison were set free. Others were taken from the mines; and several, who had been sent into exile, were restored to their homes. On her arrival in Palestine, she hastened to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and as the Holy Sepulchre was already adorned with the noble edifice built by Constantine's command, so she directed that the spots pointed out by tradition as those of our Lord's birth and ascension, should be surmounted by similar structures.

Helena's pilgrimage afforded an example of devotion, which obtained many followers. It soon began to be regarded as a proper sign of affection to the Saviour to seek the land which had witnessed his wonderful works: to show reverence for his birthplace, by praying at the shrine which now occupied the place of the manger: to prove the gratitude felt for redemption, by shedding the bitterest tears of repentance in the gloom of Gethsemane, or on the summit of Calvary.

Whether such a feeling was the fruit of earnest piety, or of an unhealthy enthusiasm, we stop not to inquire. But it was the sentiment of the times; and it led to many an exhibition of intense devotion, which it would be melancholy to think of, as wanting altogether in spiritual life.

Among the earliest of those who thus sought the Holy Land, was the celebrated St. Jerome. His love of learning, and powers of observation, rendered his pilgrimage one of great value to religion in general. He became acquainted, during his long residence in the country, with many particulars, which he afterwards applied to the illustration of the divine word; nor is it improbable that, though in far inferior degrees, other devout and observant Christians gathered information in their pilgrimage, which contributed, in various ways, to the instruction of their brethren.

St. Jerome had suffered at Rome much distress from the persecution of rivals and enemies. He resolved to seek among the sacred scenes of Palestine relief to his vexed and agitated mind. On his first arrival in Syria, he began to doubt whether even there he could find the repose which he so anxiously sought. Controversies and disputes of every kind prevailed among the several parties into which the Christians of that province were now unhappily divided. His own personal state also greatly disturbed him. He felt less spiritual, less unearthly, than in earlier

times. Influenced by these circumstances, he sought a remote solitude; and continued to pray and weep till his improved strength of mind and spirit encouraged him to return to Jerusalem. There he conversed with the pious Cyril, bishop of the see; and from him he obtained permission to found a monastery at Bethlehem, in order that, speaking according to the figurative language of the times, when Joseph and Mary came to Bethlehem they might not want an inn to receive them. The monastery thus built became the resort of numerous devout men; and so favourable did Jerome feel the influence of the place, and its surrounding scenes to his own growth in piety, that he anxiously desired the most beloved of his friends to leave Rome, and take up their abode in the Holy Land. "Will that day never come," he says, "when we may visit the sepulchre of the Saviour, and weep there together? And then approach the cross, and on the Mount of Olives ascend in mind and thought with the ascending Lord? When we may see Lazarus come forth bound with the grave-cloths, and the waters of Jordan purified by the baptism of Jesus? When we may go to the folds of the shepherds, and pray in the tomb of David, and listen to the prophet Amos, making the hills resound with the notes of his pastoral horn? When we may visit the tents of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and see the fountain in which Philip baptized the Eunuch; and journey to Samaria, and meditate amid the ashes of John the Baptist, of Elijah, and Obadiah? And enter the cave in which the prophets were preserved and nourished in the time of persecution and famine? Yes! and we will go to Nazareth, and, according to the meaning of its name, we will see the flower of Galilee. Not far from thence is Cana, in which the water was turned into wine. And we will wander to Mount Tabor, and to the tabernacle of the Saviour, beholding him, not as Peter, with Moses and Elias, but with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Thence we can journey to Genesareth, and contemplate the five and the four thousand men fed with the five and the seven loaves in the desert. And the gate of Nain will rise to our view, where the widow's son was restored to life: and Hermon will excite us to reflection, and the stream of Endor, where Sisera was overcome. Capernaum, so familiar with the miracles of the Lord, and all Galilee, shall be visited. And then, Christ accompanying us, we will return by Siloam and Bethel to our cave, and will sing, and weep, and pray together; continually exclaiming, with the spouse in the Canticles, 'I found him whom my soul sought: I will hold him, and will not let him go.'"

Such were the feelings with which St. Jerome beheld the scenes rendered sacred to faith, and holy thought, by the workings of divine Providence, and the presence of the Saviour of mankind. Not long after the letter above alluded to was written, Paula, a rich and noble lady, overwhelmed with grief at the loss of her husband, adopted St. Jerome's counsel, and set sail for Palestine. The account given of her journey affords an interesting proof of the patience and courage necessary for such an undertaking at the beginning of the fifth century. But every island, city, or province by which the pilgrim passed, brought to recollection the sufferings or triumphs

of some venerable witness to the power of the gospel. Thus the length of way was almost disregarded; and the intention of the traveller to visit the Holy Land was sufficient of itself to secure him the sympathy and hospitality of all true Christians. So greatly was this the case, that to provide for the pilgrim's entertainment soon became recognized as one of the works of piety deserving the highest esteem. In obedience to this sentiment, buildings were attached to churches, in which especial provision was made for the reception of pilgrims. A deacon also was appointed to see to their entertainment; and where all this could not be done, a straw pallet, and bread and water, the simple fare which formed the wanderer's usual repast, were prepared for him against nightfall, in many a solitary hovel by the wayside.

The route taken by pilgrims in those days is clearly pointed out in the account given of Paula's progress from Italy to Palestine. On her arrival in that country, she proceeded from Berytus and Sidon to Sarepta: thence on to Tyre, and to Ptolemais, or Acre. Passing through the fields of Megiddo, "conscious of the death of Josiah," she entered the land of the Philistines. Then contemplating with wonder the ruins of Dor, once a powerful city, she proceeded to Turris Stratonis, or Cæsarea, and there saw the house of Cornelius, "the church of Christ;" and the dwelling-place of Philip, and the chamber of his four daughters that prophesied. She next arrived at the half-ruined town of Antipatris; and Lydda, famous for the resurrection and cure of Dorcas and Æneas. Not far from thence she beheld Arimathæa, the city of Joseph, who buried the Lord; and Nob, formerly a city of the priests, now the tomb of the slain: and Joppa, and Nicopolis, before called Emmaus; and going up from thence, she came to Bethoron, the upper and lower, cities founded by Solomon, but ruined by wars and revolutions. To the right of these towns, she saw Ajalon, and Gibeon, and Gibea; and proceeding on her course, she passed the ruined tomb of Helena on the left, and then entered Jerusalem, "that city of three names, Jebus, Salem, and Jerusalem, and for some time, when restored by Hadrian, known as Ælia."

Paula, on entering the holy city, was invited by the proconsul, who was well acquainted with her family, to occupy a residence proper to her rank and fortune. But she desired to exercise those virtues of humility and patience, without which there could have been no harmony between her feelings and the scenes which she came to contemplate. She therefore refused the offers made her of a hospitable reception; and retired to a little cell, as the proper abode of a Christian pilgrim. From this retreat she visited Calvary, and the sepulchre of the Lord, kissing, it is said, the stone which the angels had removed on the morning of the resurrection, and the spot on which the body of the Lord was laid. "And she ascended Mount Zion, of the overthrown city on which it was said, 'Woe, woe to Ariel,' but of that built up, 'The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob.' Nor was this spoken of the gates which are now dust and ashes, but of those gates against which hell shall not prevail, and through which the congregation of believers

go to Christ." The next object which engaged her attention, was, according to this ancient narrative, the column to which Christ was bound while being scourged; and after contemplating this sad memorial of his humiliation, she was conducted to the place in which the disciples were assembled when the blessed Spirit descended upon them on the day of Pentecost.

There were many poor and distressed objects in Jerusalem at this period. Upon these, wealthy strangers, like Paula, gladly exercised their Christian charity. Benevolence formed, in her case, another support to those holy sentiments with which her soul was filled. She felt that she had a nearer union with her Saviour as she ministered to the wants of his poor disciples: that she had a better and higher right to indulge in the sweet and solemn meditations which occupied her mind.

From Jerusalem, Paula went to Bethlehem. On the right-hand side of the road she saw the tomb of Rachael. As soon as she entered the town, she proceeded to the cave in which the Saviour was born, and such was the power, says St. Jerome, which faith exercised on her thoughts, that she seemed really to behold with her eyes the divine infant cradled in the manger; the adoring magi; the star shining over the place where he lay; the virgin mother; and the shepherds leaving their folds, which they watched by night, to come and worship the new-born king.

The sentiments which inspired such persons as Paula, gained strength through several succeeding ages. Their growth was intimately connected with two very different classes of feeling. In the one case, pure devotion to the Saviour wrought upon the heart, and urged the pilgrim to seek the Holy Land as a mere manifestation of love and thankfulness. But in the other case, a notion was cherished that something like merit—compensating for sin—belonged to an undertaking so fraught with difficulty as a journey to Syria. Hence many who either painfully doubted their own penitence, their own readiness to become sincere disciples of the Saviour, or who could not but confess an actual resistance to what is most spiritual in his gospel, gladly availed themselves of the means which a pilgrimage seemed to offer to supply their confessed deficiencies. As soon as this idea began to take possession of men's minds, the number of pilgrims increased every year. It was no longer the simple worshipper, the humble, adoring believer only, who sought the shrine in Gethsemane or Bethlehem. As various motives operated to induce the penitent to seek relief to his conscience in this, or that exercise of humiliation, so did the train of pilgrims who appeared at the gates of Jerusalem present many various shades of character. Men long accustomed to a life of worldly toil or pleasure were seen prostrate before the cross. Their companions were inquiring scholars, priests, and monks. When they rose, each took a different path, some, their consciences being satisfied with the mere act of worship which had been performed, or with the penance which had been endured, hastened back to their native land; others formed fraternities and built monasteries: while some traversed, with restless but devout curiosity, the length and breadth of the land, listening intently to every whisper of tradition, and employ-

ing such powers of observation as they might possess in determining the claim of this or that locality to the homage which it received.

Thus Palestine gradually became the common resort of those whose minds, whether for a time, or permanently, experienced the mightier impulses of religious conviction. Of those who returned home, few would fail to speak of the impressions made upon them when they wept, bowed down with melancholy thought, in Gethsemane; or when they raised their eyes to heaven on the mount of transfiguration, or in Bethany. To a fervent, devout spirit, nothing could be so stimulating as such representations. Even in the case of ordinary inquirers, a land like Palestine must have been like a rich and curious volume, every page of which contained something deserving thoughtful consideration.

The feelings which impelled so many to visit the Holy Land, led others, who could not undertake the journey, to seek some share of the pilgrim's merit, by sympathising with him in all his anxieties and triumphs. Hence before he set out from his home, the parish priest solemnly invested him with the pilgrim's garb, and put into his hand the staff which was to support his weary steps, and which had been consecrated by prayer. The people of the parish assembling, to join their blessings to those of the priest, accompanied him on the first stage of his journey, and then bade him farewell, as one who, according to the emotions which they then felt, was about to trace the visible footsteps of the adorable Saviour. If he returned, similar expressions of honour and thankfulness were employed, to indicate the sentiments entertained respecting a devout pilgrimage. The palm-branch which he brought with him from the valleys which had breathed a divine blessing was contemplated with holy wonder, and then laid upon the altar. It was a token of the pilgrim's success. It was also a sign that could be felt and understood of the actual existence and reality of those scenes amid which the Son of God laboured and suffered for the salvation of the world.

Gladly, however, as religious communities beheld some one or other of their members preparing to represent them, as it were, in the city of the Lord; to gather information for them as to the existing character of the places so familiar to them in name,—such was the rapidity with which the passion for pilgrimages to the Holy Land increased, that even before the close of the fifth century, fears began to be entertained respecting the general result of the movements with which it was connected. Some of the most eminent Christian teachers saw with alarm, that both discipline and morals were perilled by the liberty naturally accorded to the wanderer in his long and adventurous journey. The simple duties of a religious life seemed cast into the shade by the glare of his supposed heroism and exalted devotion; and real penitence and faith were in danger of being altogether set aside, for the mere factitious sentiments of an excited fancy.

But notwithstanding the cautious view taken of the subject by the more thoughtful of the clergy, the desire of visiting the Holy Land continued to gain a stronger hold

of the popular mind. The veneration entertained for the relics of saints and martyrs, and, still more, for any which might be supposed to exist of the Saviour himself, was a powerful element in the religious character of the times. Palestine offered a rich field to the enterprising inquirer after such memorials. It had long been confidently believed that the wood of the true cross, and other instruments of the crucifixion, still existed. An impulse was thus given to the researches of the curious and the devout. It is far from impossible that many relics might be found which had a rightful claim to be regarded as genuine. But in numberless cases, mistaken zeal, a fervent imagination, and in some instances, vanity and avarice, induced those who had travelled to the Holy Land with this object in view, to stamp everything with the character of a relic which conjecture, or idle tradition, could represent under that form. Neither the people, nor the clergy, cared to inquire too strictly into the matter. A deep, intense delight was experienced in the contemplation of objects which were said to have borne a part, however mean or doubtful, in aught that concerned the Saviour, the apostles, or evangelists. It was the sentiment, the feeling itself, thus excited, which became the reality; and by a species of self-deception, often consciously indulged, many assigned a value to the relic which only properly belonged to their own fervent affection for whatever they believed to be divine.

The intercourse with Palestine was thus commenced, and for some generations carried on only by travellers, whose reasons for making the journey were wholly derived from their faith. But as the spirit of commerce advanced in power and grandeur, a new set of motives was created for penetrating into the provinces of Syria, and the remoter East. The ports of the Mediterranean sent forth numerous fleets of merchantmen, bound to Alexandria, Beyrout, or more distant emporiums of Oriental trade. In these places the European adventurer met with natives from countries, the names of which had hitherto been connected with the wildest fables. As they talked with each other of the lands in which they had been born, their familiar words seemed to render the road between their several provinces wider and smoother. The desire of gain now mingled itself with the stimulating love of novelty and adventure. A voyage from Marseilles to Alexandria was easily accomplished, and of those who landed on the shores of Egypt or Syria, some were always to be found who could not resist the desire to penetrate into the interior of those countries of miracle and tradition.

Had affairs continued in this state, Jerusalem and the surrounding districts would soon have been peopled by Christians from all the great European provinces. But in the early part of the seventh century, a power, mightier than that of any dominion in either East or West then existing, was established as the scourge of Christendom. Mahomet claimed Jerusalem no less than Mecca or Medina. His followers did not lower their pretensions; and when the great and victorious Omar took possession of the sacred city, in the year 637, he pronounced it holy, as the scene of events no

less dear to the disciples of Mahomet, than to the Jew and the Christian. In the conditions which he offered to the venerable patriarch, Sophronius, he gave full permission to the disciples of Christ to observe the rites prescribed to them in the gospel. They were allowed to assemble in their churches; to preach and pray. But they were not to form public processions; to ring the church bells, except in so far as was necessary to give notice of service; or to make exhibition of the cross.

The tolerant spirit of the conquerors soon yielded to the temptations which pride and success created. Christians in Palestine had hitherto felt that amid the memorials of their Saviour's love they were as free from earthly, as they hoped to become from spiritual enemies. But now tyranny and oppression met them at every step. They saw the crescent, like a baleful meteor, hanging over their holy places. As they worshipped and trembled before the cross, threats and insults of every kind met their ear; and they were driven from the Holy Sepulchre, and from Zion, as if they were themselves polluting the very spots which they regarded with so intense a feeling of delight and awe.

Under the splendid rule of the famous Haroun al Raschid, Christian pilgrims were spared the indignities to which they had been subjected during the preceding age. The power of Charlemagne also contributed to render the journey to Palestine far easier and safer; and the generous spirit which animated the two monarchs, seemed proudly to reject the notion of acquiring dominion by religious oppression. For more than a hundred years did this favourable state of things continue; and during that period the poorest as well as the wealthiest and most enlightened provinces of Europe sent forth pilgrims to pray for them, and collect relics, in the Holy Land. Charlemagne, it is said, established an extensive institution in Jerusalem for the reception of travellers from the West. If they were poor, their wants were amply provided for in this hospitable asylum. On their appearance at the gate, one of the brethren residing in the house came forward, and bearing a small cross in his hand bade them welcome, and pointed out some little quiet apartment ready for their reception. This institution appears to have increased with the increasing number of travellers. Hence the *hospice* of the Latin pilgrims consisted, before the end of the tenth century, of twelve houses; and possessed noble vineyards and gardens, stretching along the beautiful vale of Jehoshaphat. A still higher notion is given of the character of this institution by the fact, that a library was added to its other accommodations, and that the collection which it contained was open at all times for the comfort and edification of the numerous strangers in Jerusalem.

Thus the momentary check given to the enthusiasm of those who desired to visit the birth-place of their religion, was almost wholly removed. The clergy partook of the general curiosity as well as devotion; and bishops are said to have left their dioceses for years, in order to perform what was now considered a higher duty than any which belonged to the common offices of either social or religious life. Exer-

cises connected with Christian penitence, and which by their very nature and intention ought to have been performed in retirement, were now the nominal occupation of men who passed every day in the excitement of travel; in encountering some new awakening difficulty, or in the enjoyment of some agreeable novelty. The very character of religious humility was altered thereby; and many a pilgrim returned from Jerusalem with a quicker sense of the delights of the journey, than of the grief and alarm which, bowed under a weight of conscious guilt, he had experienced on setting out.

But neither the successors of Aaroun al Raschid, nor those of Charlemagne, partook of the virtues which characterized those remarkable men. The Christians in Palestine soon felt the change which followed the accession of new rulers. Oppression returned with ignorance and imbecility. Again the Holy Sepulchre was surrounded with jealous guards. A tribute was imposed upon every worshipper at the shrine. The very entrance to the holy city could not be passed till a certain sum had been paid. Nor did the traveller's difficulties in this respect commence with his approach to the gates of Jerusalem. As soon as he landed on the shores of Ægypt, a certain sum was demanded of him. If properly provided with means, he paid the money, and was not exposed to any further interruption. But it was frequently the case, that the pilgrim had neither gold nor silver in his purse No mercy was shown to poverty by the Egyptian emirs. The discovery that a Christian had contemplated passing through their province without paying a tribute, excited profound indignation. Imprisonment was the slightest punishment inflicted; and the unfortunate traveller was left in irons till some of his wealthier brethren might pass by, and pay the necessary sum for his deliverance.

Tempted by the divisions among the Saracens, the Greek emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, planned an expedition against the richest of their provinces. Antioch soon fell into his hands; and the people of Constantinople greeted the conqueror with the pompous titles of the Star of the East; the Scourge of the Infidels.

Unhappily for the Christians in Palestine, the fervour and courage of Nicephorus were not supported by any corresponding dispositions on the part of his subjects. The enemy instead of being vanquished, was only stimulated to revenge. Several of the churches in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood were burnt to the ground: and the venerable patriarch perished on the scaffold. Of the soldiers who had been taken prisoners in battle, many were cast into dungeons in Bagdad. Their sufferings were as great as those of the Christians in Palestine; and they contrived to make their complaints heard in Constantinople. Zimisces, the successor of Nicephorus, was equally animated by pity and ambition. His own subjects, and the inhabitants of Europe at large, ardently sympathised with his generous sentiments. Thus a feeling prevailed no less powerful and general than that which led, two or three generations later, to the commencement of the Crusades.

Zimisces led his vast army into the heart of the Saracen's dominions. Even the

calif of Bagdad was compelled to humble himself, and become his tributary. Damascus, and other cities, successively yielded to his triumphant progress. Nothing seemed wanting to the permanent conquest of Syria, but the continuance of his eign. To the grief and alarm of those to whom he had given life and freedom, he fell a victim to the base arts of secret enemies. His successors knew not how to secure the advantages which he had gained. Jerusalem, therefore, became the prize of the Fatamite califs; and its inhabitants had reason to dread that the worst terrors of persecution would soon be revived among them. But this was not the case. The new rulers had ventured to oppose the other followers of Mahomet, and form a sect of their own. They needed some degree of support; and were, accordingly, rejoiced to find that it would be possible to render the Christians useful and valorous allies.

For some time, therefore, the general condition of the faithful in Palestine was tranquil and hopeful. The hospitals recovered their former grandeur: the markets, which had been instituted by the Europeans, were reopened; and everything exhibited some sign of the activity and security which can only exist in an advanced stage of civilization. Had the Fatamite califs continued to feel the vast importance of conciliating the several portions of the mixed society over which they presided, this tranquillity would probably have been preserved for many years. But the third in succession, the haughty and capricious Hakem, conceived the most bitter hatred against the Christians. They were accordingly again subjected to a pitiless persecution. Both Ægypt and Syria flowed with the blood of the disciples of Jesus. The attempts made by some of the maritime states of France and Italy to lessen the power of the tyrant, served only to increase his ferocity. Unhappily, he found many in Jerusalem ready to join him in the darkest designs of religious fanaticism. Mercy, truth, and justice were equally set aside to accomplish the overthrow of the gospel, and the ruin of its professors. Thus on one occasion a dead dog was thrown by their enemies into the court of the principal mosque. The offence was immediately attributed to them; and Hakem lost no time in avenging the pretended crime, by the slaughter of many of the most venerated of their body. Had not the generous devotion of a noble-minded young man been ready to deliver them, the persecution would probably have continued till not a Christian was left in Palestine. Hastening to the tribunal, this champion of his people called upon the magistrate to regard him as the sole author of the insult which had been perpetrated against the sanctity of the mosque. His supposed confession was accepted; and he at once yielded himself into the hands of the executioner, who had received orders to subject him to the acutest tortures which art and experience could inflict. Tasso has modified and employed this incident, as the foundation of one of the most interesting episodes in the Jerusalem Delivered. According to his version of the story, the offence consisted in the daring plan laid and executed by the Christians to recover some sacred image, which had been removed from their altar to be placed in the shrine of the

infidel. A beautiful Christian girl, on hearing the decree published against her people, proclaimed herself guilty of the crime. She was already bound to the stake, when a youth who had long loved her, but without telling his love, rushed into the crowd, and pleaded so powerfully against himself, that the judge declared he was satisfied of the guilt of both. Instead, therefore, of freeing Sophronia, the unhappy youth was only permitted to share her sufferings. He was bound to the same stake; and while preparations were made for firing the pile, he uttered a sad lament that such should be the fate of lovers so fond and true. Sophronia's fortitude was firmer in the hour of trial.

"Far other aspirations, other plaints,
Than these, dear friend, the solemn hour should claim:
Think what reward God offers to his saints;
Let meek repentance raise a loftier aim.
These torturing fires, if suffered in his name,
Will, bland as zephyrs, waft us to the blest.
Regard the sun, how beautiful his flame!
How fine a sky invites him to the West.
These seem to soothe our pangs, and summon us to rest."

"The Pagans, lifting up their voices, wept;
In stifled sorrow wept the Faithful too;
E'en the stern king was touched,—a softness crept
O'er his fierce heart, ennobling, pure, and new:
He felt, he scorned it, struggled to subdue,
And lest his wavering firmness should relent,
His eyes averted, and his steps withdrew:
Sophronia's spirit only was unbent;
She yet lamented not, for whom all else lament."

Suddenly a powerful champion and intercessor appears. The tyrant grants a free pardon, and to the joy of the multitude, the intended victims are unbound and set free.

"Restored to life and liberty, how blest,
How truly blest was young Olindo's fate!
For sweet Sophronia's blushes might attest,
That love at length has touched her delicate
And generous bosom. From the stake in state
They to the altar pass: severely tried,
In doom and love already made his mate,
She now objects not to become his bride,
And grateful live with him who would for her have died."

CANTO II. STANZAS XXXVI. XXXVII. LIII.

The persecution which the jealousy or ambition of the Saracen chief had induced him to renew, proved in the end of no slight benefit to the Christian cause. Atten-

tion was directed to the state of the East; and while pious believers in every country of Europe wept over the calamities of their brethren in Jerusalem, powerful monarchs felt their spirits stirred with the noble desire of overthrowing a dominion as injurious to civilization as to religion and humanity. But the period of danger was that which attracted a number of pilgrims to the holy city, whose hopes of recovering their lost peace of conscience increased with the augmenting perils of the journey. Such was the superstition of the age, that he who now visited Jerusalem was sure of obtaining the absolution of the church, whatever his crimes or errors. Thus we are told of a Count of Anjou, who having murdered his wife, could find no peace till he journeyed to the Holy Land. Storms pursued him on his way; and redoubled the terrors of his guilty soul; the victims of his cruelty appeared armed for his destruction; and he expected every instant to sink beneath the vengeance of Heaven. At length he reached Jerusalem. The hope of mercy revived; and he traversed the streets with a rope about his neck, and exclaiming, while calling upon his servants to scourge him, "Lord! Lord! have mercy on me; a wretched and perjured Christian, wandering far from his own land to seek thy pardon."

A similar account is given of Frotmont, a nobleman of the duchy of Bretagne, in the time of King Lothaire. He had murdered his uncle, and one of his brothers. Remorse soon followed the commission of the crime; and Frotmont, assuming the dress of a penitent, presented himself before the king in full court. By the advice of his nobles, and the prelates who surrounded him, Lothaire ordered the offender to be bound with fetters; and straightway to set out for the Holy Land. We are told that the unhappy man gladly obeyed the command; and that, after having spent some time at Jerusalem, he journeyed through the most solitary regions of the neighbouring provinces, and returned to Europe in the time of Pope Benedict III. By that pontiff he was advised to continue his penitential course, by making a second pilgrimage. He yielded to the directions given him; and having traversed Syria, the shores of the Red Sea, and great part of Armenia, returned to his own country in safety, and with the character of a saint. The rest of his life was passed in a monastery, where, if tradition speak true, he continued to exhibit indisputable proofs of sincere penitence.

Among the most celebrated of those whose real or supposed crimes induced them to adopt this method of reconciling themselves to God and society, was Robert Duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror. He set off, accompanied by a numerous retinue, barefooted, and clothed, not in the purple robe of royalty, but in penitential sackcloth. If we may judge of the feelings with which he commenced the journey from the words which he uttered, his penitence must have been deep and earnest. "I set a higher price," he said, "on the pains and sorrows which I suffer for the sake of Jesus Christ, than on the best city in my dominions." Having fallen sick soon after his arrival in the East, he was compelled to employ a litter. He would not, however, allow Christians to carry him. Saracens

took, in this case, the place of his usual attendants. On the road, he chanced to meet a pilgrim from Normandy. The man inquired if he could convey any message for him. "Yes!" said the duke, "tell my people that you saw on your journey a Christian prince carried to Paradise by devils." Notwithstanding, however, the tone of this expression, Robert exercised his charity in Jerusalem towards Saracens as well as Christians. His whole conduct and demeanour inspired general admiration; and it is probable that in his case, and in others of a similar kind, a real change of character was produced, not indeed from the merit attending the pilgrimage, but from the influence exercised on the mind by prayer and reflection, and by an entire separation from those pursuits and indulgences which, in a court, are so apt to engender pride and its kindred passions. Robert died on his return, at Nice in Bithynia, expressing with his last breath the grief which he felt at not having remained long enough in Jerusalem to end his days on the spot where his Lord had suffered for the sins of the world.

It is worthy of observation, that, as the time approached for the commencement of the Crusades, pilgrimages began to be made by large bodies of men travelling in company, and presenting both to themselves and others the appearance of a little army. Thus about twenty years before the first Crusade, a company of seven thousand pilgrims assembled in Germany, and proceeded towards Constantinople. At the head of the party were the archbishop of Mentz, the bishop of Utrecht, the bishop of Ratisbonne, and the bishop of Ramberg. Associated with these dignified ecclesiastics, were knights and barons, and soldiers of every degree. The journey to Constantinople was fruitful in perils and adventures. But they were encountered with the spirit of heroism, common to the pilgrims of the age. The dignity of the travellers secured them an honourable reception at the court of the emperor; and Constantinople displayed all its relics of the early ages of Christianity to delight and animate their hearts with associations proper to their calling.

Hitherto the appearance of pilgrims had been in close agreement with their character and pursuits. But a remarkable change was now to be discovered in their garb and manners. The prelates were distinguishable from the meaner pilgrims by the dignity of their bearing, and the reverence with which they were treated by their numerous followers. They were adorned with gold and purple; and the nobles and warriors, who vied with them in splendour, wore the most costly suits of polished armour, and the gayest ornaments of their order. It was scarcely possible for the people through whose provinces they passed, to believe that they were Christian pilgrims. Hitherto the cowl, the sackcloth, the ashes on the head, the cord about the neck, and the bare feet, were the distinguishing marks of such travellers. When the magnificent cavalcade approached the borders of Syria, the inhabitants of the district counted their numbers, and estimated the value of the booty which was likely to fall into their hands, should they make a successful attack. At about a league from Ramlah, a band of Arabs fell upon the company. Among the first

who perished was the bishop of Utrecht. A small, ruinous fortification in the desert, furnished the pilgrims with momentary shelter. Their courage increased with the danger of their position; and for a long time they continued to defend themselves against the repeated assaults of the enemy. Desperate were the efforts made by the Arabs to overcome the obstinate heroism of this little Christian band. The conflict continued for several days. At length, the utter want of provisions convinced the Christians that they must either yield, or force a passage through the multitude which surrounded their wretched fortress. With the characteristic courage of their age and country, they were on the point of making the attempt to pass the enemy; but just as preparations had been made for the sortie, one of the party, a priest, came forth, and entreated his brethren to listen to his words. "Your strength," he said, "is broken by famine and long endurance. Let us put our trust in God, rather than in our arms. Let us surrender. The barbarians wish for our gold, not for our lives."

The advice of the priest was taken. By means of an interpreter, information was conveyed to the Arab chief that the pilgrims were ready to give up what they possessed, on condition that their lives were spared, and that they were permitted to pursue their journey unmolested. The chief immediately repaired to the intrenchment, and took with him seventeen of his chosen warriors. Having been conducted to the spot where the archbishop of Mentz awaited him, he listened with impatience to the statement of the prelate; and instantly replied, that he had not fought for three days to receive conditions from the vanquished; and that he and his companions had promised themselves to feast on the flesh and blood of those whom they had conquered. So saying, he took his turban from his head, and unfolding it, formed a band, which he insultingly cast like a rope round the neck of the archbishop. The prelate was a bold and powerful man, and with as much of the spirit of a warrior as of a churchman in him. Instantly he sprang upon the chief: felled him to the ground by a blow of his powerful arm, and bound his hands together, drawing the cord so tight, it is said, that the blood started out of his fingers' ends. A terrible combat ensued. But the Christians having the chief and his companions in their power, placed them in front of their encampment. During the night, a pilgrim made his way to Ramlah. The Saracen governor and inhabitants of that place had as much reason as the Christians to fear the Arabs. A small force was, therefore, immediately despatched to the relief of the pilgrims. The Arabs could not resist the twofold attack; and the Christians were rewarded by the Saracens with the grant of such a guard and supply of necessaries as their present condition demanded. Thus protected, they reached Jerusalem in safety; and their expedition afforded an example of the passage of large numbers of associates, supplied with those necessaries for the journey to Syria, which might enable them to become at any moment a band of warriors instead of a company of pilgrims.

Circumstances of this kind prepared the way for the Crusades. The road to

Jerusalem was now well known to those whose devout sentiments gradually associated themselves with others no less agreeable to the spirit of the age. War was the business and pastime of kings and nobles at this period. When they contemplated, therefore, the subject state of the Holy Land, and the oppression suffered by their brethren, every principle of their nature was stirred with the indignant desire to take vengeance on the infidel. So long, however, as the journey to Palestine presented unknown difficulties and terrors, the actual idea of war could not enter their minds. The most that the bravest man could do was to encounter, like others, the perils of the way, and weep, as they did, that so holy a possession should be in the hands of unbelievers. But when it was found that thousands after thousands could keep together in their long journey through the German states: that they could reach Constantinople in safety, and then pass on into the enemy's country, with some chance of defending themselves by force; when this was found to be the case, the minds of bold and adventurous men, like the knights and barons of the middle ages, could scarcely fail to conceive the idea of making some effort to deliver that sacred region, to which all devout souls were looking, from the insulting domination of its present rulers.

It was at the time when these feelings were beginning to act most powerfully on those who had the best means of accomplishing the design, that Peter the Hermit made his appearance, and commenced the task of uniting the several parts of that vast machinery which was necessary to any undertaking of the kind contemplated. The mightiest princes of the age could not have brought sufficient forces into the field to cope with the Saracens in Syria. In vain would the Roman pontiff himself, aided by the choicest of his councillors, have endeavoured to move them to such an enterprise. Neither money nor troops could have been raised sufficient for so perilous an expedition. It needed that, without which no vast enterprise has ever been attempted with fair prospect of success. It required, that is, the awakening, and the concentration, of the common forces and sympathies of mankind at large. The penetrating understanding of Peter the Hermit enabled him to discover that if he could once rouse the great mass of the people in the countries through which he passed, the princes, the pope, and the bishops would find little difficulty in collecting both an army and supplies, proportionable even to the gigantic character of a Crusade.

The nature of European intercourse with Palestine was greatly altered by the expeditions thus commenced. Had Syria remained under the government of the Saracens, the gradual improvement of that people might have secured to the Christians a sufficient degree of liberty in the Holy Land to enable them to effect the main object which they contemplated in seeking the sepulchre of their Saviour. But the Turks were now advancing to the very confines of the eastern empire, and threatened it with desolation. Palestine was already in their possession; and the

Christians found that however savage their former oppressors, those who now held sway were incomparably more to be dreaded.

A singular contrast existed between the character of the Greek emperors and that of the Roman pontiffs. In the former, imbecility exposed the crown, the dignity, and happiness of the whole empire to ruin: while in the latter, energy and ambition kept the affairs of the ecclesiastical state in proud and healthy vigour. Hence when the terrified emperor, Michael Ducas, besought the aid of Europe against the infidel, Hildebrand haughtily replied, that he would himself conduct an armament into the East. Preparations were actually made in agreement with this declaration. Fifty thousand brave warriors rose at the call of the pontiff, and were ready to follow him to Asia at the first unfurling of the banner of the cross. But Hildebrand had other designs to accomplish. Had he been less anxious respecting the affairs of the church at home, there was that in the ardour of his spirit—in his excited, daring imagination—which would have led him, sooner than any of his cotemporaries, to assail the infidel.

The project did not cease to be regarded as practicable on the death of Hildebrand. His successor, pope Victor, called upon Christians to deliver the Holy Land from its oppressors; and with the promise that if they obeyed the exhortation they should receive remission of sins. The rich merchants of Pisa and Genoa were among the first to answer the summons. True it is, they were also the first to understand how ruinous it would be to the growing trade of Europe, if Syria, and the other provinces of Asia and Africa, should be finally cut off from intercourse with the West. But their piety was at least not inferior to that of others; and it would be unjust not to accord praise to the zeal which induced them to prepare the magnificent armament which gained so splendid a success against the enemy. According to the chroniclers, the troops which they sent out overcame an immense army prepared to receive them; and having laid waste a great extent of coast, returned to Italy laden with a rich booty, and leading with them some thousands of captives.

But still no general movement had been made. There was as yet no appearance of a common rising of European Christians. No voice, that is, had gone forth proper to touch the one cord in men's hearts, which, whenever reached, gives the same answer in every case, though the appeal should be made to a million. Peter the Hermit had learnt the language; had discovered the secret, by the knowledge of which, one mind, whether for good or evil, acquires such power over others. In the courts of princes; in the cell of the monk; before the throne of the haughtiest prelate; in the midst of the rude multitude, he spoke with equal fervour and success. His words were remembered long after he went his way. Lightly as we may now think of the arguments which he employed; little as we can now understand how the strongest of religious feelings, the deepest seated principles of human

nature, could be excited by a superstitious regard for so remote a country as Palestine, in the eleventh century no subject was better fitted to engage popular attention, or to arouse the spirit of a man like Peter the Hermit.

Pope Urban, when he assembled the princes of France and Italy, with their numerous retainers and followers at Clermont, found their minds already prepared to obey his exhortations. "It is the will of God," had been pronounced by thousands, long before it became the recognised war-cry of those who now formally assumed the cross. The solemn and impassioned appeals of the Hermit had made every Christian feel that, in one way or the other, he was bound to contribute to the deliverance of the Holy Land, and to the safety of those who sought its shores.

But the enthusiasm of the multitude left far behind the more thoughtful and calculating devotion of the higher class of crusaders. In some remarkable cases, indeed, political considerations overcame every attempt of the pontiff or his missionaries. Both the Emperor of Germany and the King of France returned evasive answers to the appeals with which they were assailed. Other monarchs, as those of England and Spain, could point to the state of their kingdoms, as affording a sufficient reason for their not precipitating themselves into new cares and engagements. But even the sincere and earnest champions of the cross, who could form any proper idea of the real difficulties attending the proposed expedition, saw the necessity of making extensive and careful preparations. Instead, however, of waiting for the appointed time of departure, or submitting themselves to the will of the few experienced chiefs chosen to conduct the expedition, vast multitudes of men, women, and children assembled in Lorraine, and urged Philip the Hermit to conduct them on the route to Palestine. The number of those who thus went forth was greatly lessened by the time they reached the banks of the Danube; but the place of those who found their courage overcome by the first experience of toil and famine, was soon occupied by other enthusiasts. Unhappily, violence and disorder marked their progress. In passing through Germany they attacked the wealthy Jews with unexampled ferocity; and when they arrived in Bulgaria it was found that they must contend with foes of a far more formidable character, to supply their immediate wants. The leader of the Germans was Sir Walter of Pereio, who had with him his nephew, a bold adventurous knight, Sir Walter the Pennyless: poor, as his name betokened, but celebrated for his prowess. On appearing before the walls of Belgrade, Sir Walter asked of the governor such help as the need of his followers required. His request was insultingly rejected: and, compelled by the want of food and every other necessary, he immediately made an attempt to besiege the city. The open country, in the meanwhile, furnished his people with a temporary supply. But to obtain this, they were driven to plunder the helpless peasantry of their cattle and other possessions: and thus they excited against them an enemy, under whose furious attacks many thousands of them perished. Sir Walter soon discovered the hopelessness of his position; and gathering around him the stoutest of his followers,

he retreated into the neighbouring forests, through which he penetrated to Nissa, the capital of the country. The king listened with interest to Sir Walter's account of his expedition, and of the sentiments by which he was inspired. Unlike the governor of Belgrade, he treated him with hospitality; and gave him guides to conduct him by the nearest route to Constantinople.

The brave knight who had endured so many perils in the early part of the expedition, did not live to enjoy the better prospect which thus seemed to open before him. He died in Bulgaria; and it is said that the people of the country, as well as his own followers, regarded him as a saint, and his remains as a blessed and sacred deposit. Sir Walter the Pennyless now took the command of the dispirited crusaders. They at length reached Constantinople; and never had pilgrims suffered greater hardships, or encountered more dangerous adventures.

Peter the Hermit commenced his journey soon after the departure of the company headed by Sir Walter of Pereio. In his progress he was joined by two German noblemen and fifteen thousand people of the inferior classes. Before he had passed the boundaries of Germany, his host amounted to forty thousand; and at the head of this he entered Hungary. The promise which he gave the king, that no rapine should be committed by the crusaders whom he led, was faithfully observed. But some of the pilgrims having been cruelly treated in the town of Semlin, Peter resolved to avenge them. Several of the bravest of his followers attacked the fortress—took it, and slew a large portion of the inhabitants. No less than four thousand are said to have been slaughtered on one day. The crusaders obtained the victory with little loss; and the storehouses of the town furnished them with abundance of provisions, and with luxuries to which they had hitherto been strangers.

It can scarcely create surprise that a rude multitude, like that which followed the hermit, should easily yield to the temptations by which they were now surrounded. Surfeited with sudden plenty, astonished to find themselves conquerors, and in possession of a noble city, the vision of Jerusalem grew fainter every day. At length news arrived that the King of Hungary was on his march; and that he was accompanied by a body of troops sufficient to cut off the crusaders to a man. Peter knew that no time was to be lost; and rousing his people from their slumber, he conducted them through the woods to Nissa. This place they reached, after a journey of eight days; and when Peter sent messengers to request permission of the prince to purchase food, he received a plentiful supply of provisions at a moderate price, and many gifts for the support of the poorer of his followers

These circumstances may be taken as illustrative of the sentiments entertained by the princes, through whose provinces the pilgrims and crusaders had to pass, in their way to the Holy Land. But we have distressing proofs of the turbulent character of many of these wanderers; and one especially, in their conduct when treated so generously by the Governor of Nissa. The very morning after their arrival, a

hundred Germans, unknown to Peter, left the camp, and destroyed seven mills, under pretence of revenging some overcharge made by the Bulgarians in selling provisions. Houses were fired by the same party; and while Peter was quietly pursuing his way with the main body of his followers, the inhabitants were calling aloud to the prince to defend them from the barbarians. The cry was attended to; and the prince, hastily assembling a troop of horsemen, took the road along which the hermit was journeying, unsuspicious of danger. As little order was observed in the march, several of the pilgrims were found separated from the rest of the company, and immediately fell beneath the swords of the pursuers. But not satisfied with this, the prince continued his course, and eventually many hundreds of the wretched travellers were pierced through by the spears, or trampled down by the horses of the enemy. Peter on the instant resolved to return to Nissa, and justify himself from the charge brought against him through the folly or wickedness of his companions. But his hopes in this respect were frustrated by the madness of the multitude. Obeying the impulse of their sudden rage, they attacked the city, and slew many of the helpless inhabitants. For this they suffered due punishment. The Prince of Nissa again put them to flight; and Peter in the evening saw himself surrounded by only a remnant of his companions.

Terrible were the privations suffered by the poor crusaders for some days after this. Ten thousand had perished in the neighbourhood of Nissa; but the mixed multitude, as the several divisions became united again in one body, was found to amount to thirty thousand persons. With this concourse of rude, undisciplined followers, had Peter to make his way through an almost uninhabited country; woods, and morasses, and an endless variety of rocky passes, rendering the journey one of extreme peril to such a host. The corn, now nearly ripe, which they found in some of the more open districts, was the only food they could obtain. At length they beheld in the distance the walls and tower of some strange city. Much as they had suffered from the inhabitants of Nissa, they were thankful for the prospect of better fare than that which the mere fields afforded. Faint and weary as they were, they quickened their march towards the town. Nothing could be more discouraging than the appearance of its environs; not a sound was to be heard; not a living creature could be seen. The gates were open; they entered the place, and found that the inhabitants had forsaken it, leaving not the slightest article of food behind them.

Despair seemed ready to seize upon the astonished people when they saw their hopes thus cruelly disappointed. But their leader retained his presence of mind, and enthusiastic determination to fulfil his calling. The encouragement which he gave his followers to look for some speedy improvement in their circumstances, was unexpectedly justified by the arrival of messengers from the Emperor Alexius. They brought him intelligence that their master was ready to afford the pilgrims any assistance in their journey; the only stipulation being that they should not

tarry more than three days in one place. This precaution, rendered so necessary by the late proceedings of the crusaders, affords a striking illustration of their character and condition, and of the difficulty attending the progress of such a class of people to the Holy Land.

So great had been Peter's distress at the perils and sufferings of his followers, that when the emperor's intentions were announced to him, he wept for joy, and knelt down in the presence of his companions to bless God for their wonderful deliverance. Gold and provisions, horses, mules, and carriages, met the travellers at the several stations by which they passed. On the first of August they arrived at the encampment near the imperial city, formed shortly before by the brave knight, Sir Walter.

Alexius counselled Peter to be satisfied with accomplishing so much of his design as consisted in leading his band to the confines of Syria. The emperor was too well acquainted with the power of the enemy, not to perceive the hopelessness of an attempt to encounter him with a force like that which was now assembled. He listened, it is said, with reverential delight to the discourse of Peter. He saw in him the elements of a great and vigorous character; but at the same time, he discovered how sadly he had miscalculated the means which he possessed of either meeting the enemy, or controlling the undisciplined multitude which professed to obey his orders.

In vain, however, did Alexius press his advice on the hermit. He was compelled to obey the passionate demands of his rude host to be led forward without delay. No representations could induce them to wait till the army now assembling, under the leadership of Godfrey of Boulogne, should arrive in the East. Finding his efforts useless, the emperor no longer resisted the general feeling, but again supplied the crusaders with the means of pursuing their route. For two months Peter kept his followers comparatively tranquil in the neighbourhood of Helenopolis. A fierce dispute then arose between the French and German divisions of the band. The mischief to be apprehended from this dissension subdued even the bold and hopeful spirit of the hermit. He intimated the necessity of his revisiting Constantinople for a time; and left the sole command to Walter.

No sooner was Peter gone than a party of the crusaders, chiefly French, hastened to attack Nicæa. They were successful; and the sight of the booty with which they returned, stimulated the Germans to undertake a similar enterprise. This also succeeded; and the determination was formed of establishing a camp sufficiently strong to resist the reprisals of the enemy till the arrival of the great army from Europe. But the Turkish Sultan, Arslan, had not looked idly on. He sent a troop against the Germans, which overthrew them with a dreadful slaughter. The attempt of the French to avenge their brethren was attended with equal ruin to themselves. They fought long and desperately. But their leaders fell in the hopeless strife; and only three thousand of the whole multitude escaped the sword of the Turk. This

little band fortified itself in an old castle, till Peter, hearing of the calamity which had happened, induced the emperor to send a force for their relief. By this means they were delivered from the destruction which every day awaited them; and thankfully allowed themselves to be led back to Constantinople. Faint and spirit-broken, they now desired nothing so much as to retrace their steps along the weary way which they had so fruitlessly traversed. But they had no resources out of which to supply themselves with the commonest necessaries. At last the happy thought struck them of selling what few arms they possessed to the emperor. Alexius readily purchased the weapons offered him; and the poor crusaders immediately began their journey homewards.

Another attempt to reach the Holy Land, and deliver its Christian inhabitants from their oppressors, was made by a band of fifteen thousand armed men, led by a German priest named Gottschalk. On their arrival in Hungary, the disorderly spirit of many among them began to display itself. When the means of enjoying themselves in boisterous revelry were exhausted, they commenced a system of plunder against the inhabitants. The King of Hungary, by a flattering message to Gottschalk, persuaded him to represent to his followers, that if they would pursue their journey as simple travellers, and unarmed, benevolence and hospitality would be exercised towards them, instead of revenge. Gottschalk was deceived. No sooner had his people laid down their arms, than a body of troops rushed forth, and slew them almost to a man.

A company of French pilgrims succeeded to the ill-fated band conducted by the German priest. The ignorance and licentiousness of this party are said to have been much greater than those of the people led by Peter the Hermit or Gottschalk. They were fanatics of the worst kind. Depending upon their imaginary holiness and heroism, they would have no earthly leader. But their mysticism instructed them to place a goose and a goat at the head of their ranks. The Jews were the first to suffer from this rude multitude, whose fierceness was even greater than their rudeness. At Cologne and Mayence the attacks upon that unhappy people were characterised by almost inconceivable barbarity. When the slaughter in the former place threatened to become general, two hundred of them escaped on board a vessel in the river. But when the murder of their brethren was accomplished, they were dragged back to the city, and there shared the fate of the rest.

At Mayence, the good archbishop Rothardt, pitying the condition of the Jews, strove to protect both their lives and property. He ordered their goods to be put into a secure place; and then invited them to come and seek refuge in the apartments of his palace. But even some of his own relations were among those who sought to enrich themselves by the slaughter of the Jews. Aided by them, the travellers to the Holy Land broke down the doors of the archbishop's residence; and making their way to the rooms in which the Jews were assembled, murdered them to the number of seven hundred. At Worms they were offered protection by

the bishop, but in a less generous spirit than at Mayence. The proferred defence was to be granted on condition that they to whom it was offered should become Christians. Time was required by the Jews to consider the offer. They entered the bishop's hall, and were supposed to be in earnest debate. Their return to the conference was eagerly expected. The appointed hour passed by. A messenger was sent to hasten them. They were all found dead, having, it appeared, slaughtered each other by mutual consent.

The blood of the poor Jews seemed to cry for vengeance, and when the multitude, which was increased to above two hundred thousand before it reached the borders of Hungary, entered that country, the hour of retribution was at hand. Having arrived before the gates of Messburg, the crusaders were informed that they would not be permitted to pursue their route till they had given a solemn pledge that they would commit no violence on the way. These reasonable demands were treated with contempt. Messburg was besieged by the tumultuous host. Their vast number and fanatical rage made up for the want of discipline. The city was on the point of being entered, when a sudden panic seized the minds of the crusaders; and without, as it would seem, a reason, they ceased from the attack, and turning from the walls fled precipitately to their encampment. Not a moment was lost by the Hungarians. They saw the confusion of the crusaders, and pursued them with such vigour, that in a few hours nearly the whole were either slain or taken prisoners.

Such were the various classes of pilgrims, who, from the age of Constantine, that is, from the beginning of the fourth century to the latter part of the eleventh, continued to traverse the roads from Europe to Palestine. Their success was as various as their characters. Some reached the Holy Land, glowing with a faith and devotion which had increased as they continued to journey on. In the fulfilment of their vows, they had experienced the deepest delight of contrite and earnest souls; and though, on the one hand, they had obeyed the superstitious influences of a superstitious age, they had, on the other, advanced, personally, in the love of the gospel, and sincere desire to obey the will of the Redeemer. Others there were whose strongest motive for visiting the Holy Land was furnished by curiosity, or the love of excitement. Their journeys were not without profit. The stock of general knowledge was increased thereby. An acquaintance with scenes and characters was acquired, which could scarcely have been obtained by other means. Some degree of intercourse between distant provinces was established; and this led, as we have seen, in the course of time, to the facilitating of commercial enterprise, and to other practical results of great importance to advancing civilization.

The agitation which attended the preparation for the Crusades; the tumultuous passions which were then associated with the religious feeling, interrupted the gradual development of many a valuable principle, involved in the affectionate reverence entertained for the Holy Land by pious and meditative minds. In the expeditions

undertaken by those who followed Peter the Hermit and the priest Gottschalk, the only valuable associations were destroyed or overpowered by licentiousness on the one side, and by fear, disappointment, or disgust on the other. Those who escaped with their lives had a story to relate far different to that which had so often warmed the hearts of patient listeners, when the pilgrims of earlier times returned to their native land. They had to speak indeed of perils, of strange adventure and melancholy mishaps; but there was no proper mention of divine manifestations, or of that wonderful experience of the power of faith, in which the true and consecrated pilgrim delighted to find the evidence of his own calling, and the characteristic sign of its worth and dignity. The greater part of the multitude who now went forth, were only greedy adventurers, or ignorant fanatics, incapable almost of thought or inquiry. Their ill-timed and still worse planned expeditions served to increase the difficulties of a journey to Palestine. Every province through which they passed suffered from their violence and rapacity. Hence the name of a Christian pilgrim was becoming more odious every day; and instead of its being regarded, as it once was, in the light of a pledge for the fulfilment of every duty, it now inspired doubt and alarm; and men trembled at the approach of such travellers as they would at that of banditti.

A state of things was thus created which might of itself have ruined the hopes of those who only desired to visit in peaceful security the sacred scenes of divine history. When it was determined that every pilgrim should be a soldier, and that no time should be given to the indulgence of holy meditation, till Palestine had become a Christian possession, a change was produced for awhile on the subject of the Holy Land, which left scarcely a trace of the deep and often delicate sentiments which characterised the better class of the earlier pilgrims.

But greatly as the preparations for the Crusades altered, and, in many respects, deteriorated the tone of feeling which prevailed among the travellers to Palestine, there is much to admire as well as surprise us, in the mighty movement which stirred all Europe at this time, and awakened and employed the best energies of its noblest spirits for the one sole object of protecting those who desired to worship at the Holy Sepulchre; to ascend the steeps of Calvary or Tabor; to join in spirit the wise men, and the shepherds, giving to the Saviour the gold and frankincense and myrrh of faithful hearts. When it is considered that the only wish entertained by far the greater number of those who were preparing for the Crusades was this, of opening Palestine as a sanctuary to their fellow-believers, it is impossible not to feel that the sentiment in itself was grand and elevated; and that if it had been properly directed, it might have led to many results favourable to the highest interests of humanity.

It is evident that never had the Holy Land been regarded with more reverence or with a deeper love, than it was at this period. The feeling with which the children of Israel contemplated its hills and valleys, its flowing brooks, and their sacred Jordan, was not more fervent than that with which the inhabitants of France,

Italy, Germany, and England now in spirit looked towards its shores, and resolved to make for themselves a home in the city of the Great King. Never was a more signal proof given of the power with which historical associations work, at particular seasons, upon the great mass of human minds. Not a spot in the whole world was viewed with such feelings as those which now filled the hearts of millions at the bare mention of Palestine; and these emotions had their birth and nourishment in those few great incidents of Holy Scripture which have, in later times, been contemplated with every varying degree of religious earnestness, but so rarely in connexion with any peculiar sentiment in regard to Palestine. We may account, in some measure, for the condition of the Holy Land at different periods by watching the rise and decay, and then the revival, of that passionate reverence for its name, which has, from time to time, affected Christians of the most distant countries.

THE ROAD TO JERUSALEM.

FROM TRIPOLI TO ACRE.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the changes produced in the state of the Holy Land by the Crusades, and subsequent events, we will take a brief survey of the line of country along which the earliest pilgrims journeyed on their way to Jerusalem. The accomplished and pious Roman lady, Paula, according to the account given of her pilgrimage by St. Jerome, travelled through the whole of the district, extending from the northernmost part of the land to the capital. It must have been with a solemn feeling that she surveyed the scenery in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. No part of the country is of a more marked character, or more calculated to delight a mind disposed to meditation. Alluding to this spot, and to the ruined sepulchres which are scattered about, Shaw remarks * that it "has something in it so extravagant, and so peculiar to itself, that it can never fail to contribute an agreeable mixture of melancholy and delight to all who pass through it. The uncommon contrast and disposition of woods and sepulchres, rocks and grottoes; the medley of sounds and echoes from birds and beast, cascades and waterfalls; the distant roaring of the sea, and the composed solemnity of the whole place, very naturally remind us of those beautiful descriptions which the ancient poets have left us, of the groves and retreats of their rural deities." Almost immediately after leaving this wild and interesting scene, the stranger finds himself on the borders of a wide, extending plain, the aspect of which at once indicates its ancient fertility and beauty. As the eye wanders over its noble expanse, that sweetest and grandest of descriptive titles, "the Land of Promise," rises to the mind, and awakens many a lively vision of the past glory of the soil, which the dew of the divine blessing fertilized. Travellers tell us that the ruins of numerous watch-towers lie scattered over the plain. They were erected, it is probable, when the happy times of peace and prosperity were drawing to a close; and it became necessary to guard more vigilantly the labours of the husbandman against the incursions of the wild borderers of the desert.

"The people of the country," says Maundrell, "call this district *Iunia*, that is, the *plain*, which name they give it by way of eminency, upon account of its vast extent. We were full seven hours in passing it; and found it all along exceeding

* Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant. Tom. ii. p. 268.

fruitful, by reason of the many rivers and the great plenty of water which it enjoys. Of these rivers, the first is about six hours before you come to Tripoli. It has a stone bridge over it, of three large arches; and is the biggest in the whole plain; for which reason it goes by the name of *Nahor il Kibber*, or the Great River. About half-an-hour further, you come to another river, called *Nahor Abrosh*, or the Leper's River. In three-quarters of an hour more, you pass a third river, called *Nahor Acchar*, having a handsome stone bridge, of one very large arch, laid over it. Two good hours more bring you to a fourth river, called the *Nahor el Berd*, or the Cold Waters.*

This last-mentioned river is described by Shaw as rising among the northern eminences of Mount Libanus, and as deriving its name from the supplies which it receives from the liquified snows of the mountains.† He also contends that it is identical with the river known in ancient writers as the Eleutherus, and conjectures that in this neighbourhood may be fixed the boundary-line between Syria and Phœnicia.

The ancient Tripoli was situated upon a low cape, called a peninsula, and enjoyed the advantage of a safe harbour. It owed its origin to the united efforts of the three cities, Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre, and hence its name. The present town is half a league distant from the ancient city, and is said to have long enjoyed a considerable trade, arising both from its own manufactories in silk and cotton, and from the productions of Aleppo and Damascus. Later travellers ‡ speak well of the present appearance of this place. "When about an hour's distance from Tripoli, we passed through some very rich inclosed gardens. Tripoli itself is the greatest town we had seen in Syria, the houses being all well built of stone, and neatly constructed within. It is seated at the foot of the mountains, at some distance from the sea-shore, and is surrounded by luxuriant gardens, producing innumerable oranges and lemons."

In the seventeenth century, Tripoli, according to the accomplished French traveller, d'Arvieux, abounded in signs of wealth and luxury. The fortifications raised by Godfrey of Bouillon were still tolerably preserved; and the whole city bore the appearance of a place of which the inhabitants had retained no inconsiderable share of the advantages springing from the early intercourse of the East and West. Most of the houses were elegantly built, sparkling fountains diffused a refreshing coolness through the apartments; the mode of living was answerable to the style of building and furniture; and the inhabitants of Tripoli, says the chevalier, had the manners of people well acquainted with the elegancies of social life.

A reason, however, is given for the absence of French residents from this place,

* Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 24. † p. 270.
‡ Irby and Mangles. Travels in Syria, p. 207.

which shows that its commercial prosperity rested on a very insecure foundation. Excited by jealousy or avarice, some governor of the city had suddenly seized the French merchants and their goods, and while he appropriated the latter to his own use, he caused the unfortunate merchants to be cast into the wells about the town, and left them to perish. The Grand Vizier, it is said, on hearing of the occurrence, ordered the wicked governor to be strangled; but it was a long time before the French could be induced to trust themselves again to so perilous a position.*

Tripoli, within the last few years, measured about two miles in circumference; and has been ranked as to size and population immediately after Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem. It contains four Christian churches; that is, two Greek, one Maronite, and one Latin in the convent of the Capuchins, the only Latin order known at Tripoli for many ages, and who were so respected in the time of d'Arvieux for their piety and simplicity, that the Turks themselves rendered them offices of charity. There are eleven mosques, one of which is described as a noble specimen of the old Saracenic order; while the tombs which adorn the extensive cemeteries in the neighbourhood rival in beauty those of Smyrna and Constantinople.

On leaving Tripoli, a narrow valley, with huge dark mountains on the one side, and the rocky shore of a stormy sea on the other, extends to the ancient city of Bostrys, now called Batroun, a little town containing about a hundred houses; and further on, to that of Byblus, or Djebail, supposed to be the place referred to in Joshua, and the Book of Kings.† Here the country assumes a softer aspect; and ancient fable and romance supply traditions which mingle strangely with the sublime records of genuine history. The river Adonis still rolls its waves amid scenes well calculated to inspire poetic melancholy, and to revive, in imaginative minds, the visions of the old mythology.

Numerous villages and well-cultivated lands intervene between this spot and the town of Berytus or Beirout, which stands on a triangular point of the coast, jutting for three or four miles into the Bay of Kesraoun. This celebrated town formed one of the resting-places in Paula's pilgrimage, and was probably visited by most of the earlier travellers in Palestine, not merely because it lay in their road to Jerusalem, but because of its vast importance as a populous and wealthy city. It is doubtful whether it was a place of any consequence, or whether it even existed in the ancient times of the Jewish nation. The only town spoken of in Scripture as probably identical with Beirout is Berothath. But it was well known to the classical writers, and in the reign of Augustus it rose to the rank of a Roman colony. Favoured by situation and political circumstances, it had become distinguished in the earliest ages of Christianity for its schools of learning. The most accomplished

* Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, p. 389.

† Joshua, xxiii. 5. 1 Kings, v. 18.

scholars of the time taught in its academies; and law and philosophy flourished there for centuries after their decline in other more noted seminaries. In the history of the Christian church, it is celebrated for having matured the genius of some of its noblest champions. Gregory Thaumaturgus prepared himself in its schools for the singular struggles which he endured, in his conflict with heathen power and prejudice;* and though in a later age Berytus shared the growing darkness and superstition, it still occupied a conspicuous station as one of the favoured retreats of Christian learning and piety.

The beauty of the country around Beirout, may in great measure account for the notice which it acquired, and for its long-continued prosperity. From the verdant hills which rise in its immediate neighbourhood the view stretches over a plain of vast extent, till it rests on the glistening crags and peaks of Lebanon. In the environs of the town, the plantations of mulberry-trees, the rich orchards and gardens, give an air of luxurious tranquillity to the place, which, without any historical associations, might tempt a wanderer in search of peace and nature's sweetest influences, to regard Beirout and its valleys as the best spot he could choose for his home.

Happily for this interesting city, and for the Christian travellers of the middle ages, who sought repose within its walls, the crusaders in their first expedition did not encamp before it with hostile intentions. If we may believe the chronicles of the times, they were easily induced, by the offer of the governor to furnish them with supplies, to leave it unassailed. It was not till ten years after that Beirout had to endure the horrors of a siege. King Baldwin was then obliged to employ the choicest of his troops in the attack, and nearly eleven weeks elapsed before he succeeded in gaining possession of the place. It was several times after this taken and retaken by the Saracens and Christians, till it finally fell into the hands of the infidels at the close of the thirteenth century.

The history of Beirout affords an interesting proof of the power of a commercial town, favoured by position and other natural advantages, to rise superior to the worst calamities. In the course of two or three hundred years it was again and again sacked and plundered, its inhabitants put to the sword, and its edifices levelled with the ground. But no sooner were its new masters settled within its walls, than its prosperity returned. Its port was filled with ships from all the trading countries of the East and West. Merchants from the remotest provinces thronged its mart; and the ever-returning glory of its orchards and garden-covered hills seemed but as an emblem of the life of its commerce and social welfare.

Even in modern times Beirout has given evidence of its superiority to most of the other towns of Syria. Notwithstanding the evils which have fallen to its lot from war, pestilence, and earthquakes, it still occupies a rank among the most important of Eastern marts. Consuls from every quarter of the world are found there; and

* Stebbing's History of Christ's Universal Church, during the Primitive Times. Chap. vi. p. 206.

if happier times should come, and Palestine should itself again have a place among nations, Beirout may change its present poor and humble aspect, its ill-paved streets and wretched dwellings, for the magnificence which would become a city which has lived through so many revolutions.*

After leaving Beirout, says Maundrell,† we came in one-third of an hour to a large plain extending from the sea to the mountains. At the beginning of the plain is a grove of pine-trees of Faccardini's‡ plantation. We guessed it to be more than half-a-mile across; and so pleasant and inviting was its shade, that it was not without some regret we passed it by. Continuing on this plain, we saw at a distance, on our left hand, a small village called Suckfoat. It belongs to the Druses, who possess, at this day, a long tract of mountains as far as from Castraven to Carmel. Their present prince is Achmet, grandson to Faccardini, an old man, and one who keeps up the custom of his ancestors of turning day into night: an hereditary practice in his family, proceeding from a traditional persuasion amongst them, that princes can never sleep securely but by day, when men's actions and designs are best observed by their guards, and, if need be, most easily prevented: but that in the night it concerns them to be always vigilant, lest the darkness, aided by their sleeping, should give traitors both opportunity and encouragement to assault their persons, and by a dagger or pistol make them continue their sleep longer than they intended when they lay down.

The pine-grove spoken of by Maundrell, is said by the Chevalier d'Arvieux,§ to have conferred upon this neighbourhood a far greater blessing than that of a mere cool and refreshing shade. Before the time when Faccardini planted it, the surrounding district was perpetually a prey to pestilence. This was occasioned, it is said, by the dense vapours which were blown in a mass among the hills about the town, and which remaining there poisoned the atmosphere. When the pine grove rose to a sufficient height, the progress of the vapours was interrupted; and they were dispersed by the rays of the sun, before lodging their pernicious dews among the hills.

Faccardini, we are told, regarded Beirout as his pleasure-garden; and as his subjects were happy and prosperous under his government, they followed his example, and employed both their wealth and taste in cultivating the lovely district which they inhabited with more than ordinary care. This state of things did not last long, but the neighbourhood has never entirely lost the vestiges of those prosperous days.

* The late war has again involved Beirout and the neighbouring cities in ruin; but hopes are entertained that the sources of recovery and improvement are far from being exhausted.

† Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem. p. 43.

‡ Faccardini, or Fakhr-ed-Dîn, was a famous chief, who by his prowess and good policy made himself master of the whole of the district around Beirout.

§ Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux. Tom. ii. p. 333.

About thirty years back, the commerce of Beirout was said to be greater than that of any other port in Syria. In 1815, three vessels arrived from Malta, laden with British manufactured goods to the amount of fifty-thousand dollars, and all of which was purchased for ready money within five days after the arrival of the ships.*

The road out of Beirout soon becomes wild and sandy; but the scenery derives grandeur from the chain of mountains on the East, and interest from the numerous proofs afforded of the fertility of the surrounding plains, and of the industry of the people. A magnificent olive-grove, said to be the largest in the country, and numerous groves of mulberry-trees, help to soften the ruggedness of the way, till the pilgrim reach the river Damouras, or, as it was anciently called, the Tamyras. Here again, as in so many other parts of Palestine, the traveller is reminded of some of the most remarkable incidents in ancient history; for it was on the banks of this stream, that Antiochus the Great met the forces of the Egyptian king Ptolemy, and gained one of his most important victories. The mountains which thus far serve only to give dignity to the scenery, now cast their deeper shadows over the path of the wayfarer. Their roots are beneath his feet; and the craggy rocks and stormy waves seem to grudge the narrow path which he is traversing.

Two or three miles from the town of Seide, or Sidon, the river El-Aoula, crosses the road, and the country assumes an aspect of fertility and cheerfulness. Like most other districts in which the open plain succeeds to mountains and their narrow passes, this offers to the traveller a prospect calculated to inspire new and pleasant hopes; while the lovely gardens and plantations immediately surrounding the town, serve to prove that the inhabitants and their forefathers have not neglected to take advantage of the bounties which nature showers upon them.

Sidon boasts of an antiquity equal to that of any city in the world. It was founded by the son of Canaan immediately after the deluge, and rapidly acquired an extent and importance, which remained unimpaired for many ages. In the days of its prosperity, its suburbs reached to the foot of Anti-Libanus; and merchants from all parts of the world assembled in its marts to exchange the commodities of their several countries for those of the east. Tyre did not refuse to honour it as the parent of its own grandeur, and the influence which it exercised in all matters connected with the diffusion of luxury and the arts was universally acknowledged.

In the distribution of the land among the tribes of Israel, Sidon fell to the lot of Asher, but the original inhabitants offered effectual resistance to the weak and irresolute assailants. When Nebuchadnezzar invaded Syria, it was one of the first to feel the power of his arms. The wealth which it had been heaping up for

* Buckingham: Travels among the Arab Tribes. p. 442.

† Josephus Antiq. B. 1. c. 12.

‡ Doubdan. Voyage de la Terre Sainte. Paris 1657.

ages, the splendour with which it was adorned, the pride of its merchants and princes, all vanished at a single blow of the conqueror's sword. Having recovered, in the course of after years, some semblance of its former prosperity, it was taken by Alexander the Great, who, by a sort of noble caprice, was induced to exalt a poor gardener, said to have been of royal extraction, to the office of governor.

Our Lord was frequently in the immediate neighbourhood of Sidon, but the idolatry and wickedness of the inhabitants, or rather the particular design of his own personal ministry, would not allow him to enter its gates. Happily for the inhabitants, the word of life was kept from them only for a brief period. St. Paul, on his way to Rome, remained there some days; and doubtless made known to all who were ready to listen to his preaching, the mysteries of salvation.

Sidon, from its situation and its consequent importance, suffered greatly during the wars of the Crusades. St. Louis employed his best efforts to restore its prosperity. It at length fell into the hands of the Knights Templars, who retained it till the close of the thirteenth century, when they hastily retreated before the power of the Mussulmans.

Le Pere Doubdan, who visited this city in the year 1651, describes it as then exhibiting no inconsiderable degree of mercantile activity.* The French merchants carried on a large traffic, he says, in silks and cotton. Merchants from other nations had also their mart there; and the bazaar, or market, which consisted of several streets, was full of little shops, displaying a vast variety of figured stuffs for turbans, slippers, vests, and other garments. Formerly, the harbour was sufficiently commodious to admit vessels of great burden. It has now for ages been so filled up with ruins and drifting sands, as to allow only the smallest boats to approach the town, the merchantmen being obliged to discharge their cargo, while seeking very imperfect shelter behind the huge rocks which line the coast.

Surrounding the city and by the side of the sea, says the same traveller, are gardens and plantations abounding in fruits of every description, as apricots, oranges, citrons, palms, mulberries, figs, pomegranates, and tamarinds. In the midst of the life and beauty of these magnificent gardens, he found several remains of ancient buildings, and among them fragments of columns, which bore traces of Latin inscriptions. This was also the case in his rambles about the little village which bears the same name as the city, and near which was the burial-place of the Christians, and the little chapel possessed by the Maronites.

Sidon, as described by modern travellers, extends for about a mile along the sea-shore, and for about half-a-mile up the adjacent hills. An old castle which refers its origin to the time of the Crusades, and another dilapidated edifice of similar character overhanging a ledge of rocks, serve greatly to increase the picturesque effect of a scene in itself striking and interesting. The air of this neighbourhood is spoken of as peculiarly salubrious; and the inhabitants,

* Voyage de la Terre Sainte. p. 580.

computed to amount to between seven and eight thousand, are well supplied with the necessaries of life from the waters of the coast, abounding in fish, and from the richly cultivated plains of Esdraelon and Zabulon.

The road from Sidon towards Tyre conducts the traveller over a broad and fruitful plain, still marked by indications of the former presence of Roman armies and magistrates. At the distance of about three hours from Sidon lies the town of Sarphan, occupying some part of the site of Sarepta, venerable for its connexion with the history of Elijah. This city was formerly a place of considerable importance, but now consists of only a few poor houses, and the scattered ruins of edifices long levelled with the dust. Tradition points out the spot where the prophet is said to have met the poor widow gathering sticks; and St. Jerome particularly mentions Sarepta as one of the places sought by the devout pilgrim.

Not far from this town, a wild ridge of rocks afforded in former times a solemn retreat for several monks, whose cells were formed in the holes of the cliff, and amounted in the time of Le Père Naud to the number of a hundred. They have the appearance of sepulchres, and probably were so originally; but by some labour and ingenuity they were connected with each other, and served the purpose of a regular monastery. No situation could be found better calculated to nourish those melancholy feelings with which many of the earlier travellers visited the Holy Land. The darkness of the grave and the terrors of the cross, were both imaged in the narrow cells inhabited by the recluses of these mountains.

Between this district and Tyre, runs the river Casimeer, a deep and rapid stream, supposed by some, but erroneously, to be the same with the Eleutherus. Tyre is about an hour's journey from this river; and, according to Maundrell, presents at a distance so striking an appearance, that the traveller forgets for the moment that he is approaching, not the city whose "merchants were princes," but a poor and wretched town, which has suffered every calamity which war and oppression can inflict. But, according to a later writer, the modern Soor, whether from the sea, from the hills, from the north, or from the south, has nothing to attract attention. The island on which it stands is as low as the isthmus which connects it with the main land, and like this, all its unoccupied parts present a sandy and barren soil. The monotony of its grey and flat-roofed buildings is relieved only by the minaret of one mosque with two low domes near it, the ruins of an old christian church, the square tower without, the town to the southward, or south-east of it, and a few date-trees scattered here and there among the houses.*

The foundations of Tyre, or Soor, its most ancient and its present name, were laid by Tyro, the seventh son of Japhet, and only a year after the deluge. Its position and rapidly increasing wealth, pointed it out to the wisest princes of antiquity as well deserving their notice. Thus it is recorded that Phœnix, son of Antenor, and Cadmus, the supposed inventor of letters, expended vast sums

* Buckingham, Travels in Palestine, p. 46.

in improving both the city and harbour. The very origin of navigation is ascribed to the inhabitants of this place: nor are there wanting indications of its having been the earliest of cities to commence that traffic with other countries, to which many nations of the world are indebted for their civilization, and perhaps even for their existence. Such was the population of Tyre in the time of Alexander the Great, that when he at length overcame the valour of its defenders, after eight thousand men had been slain within the walls, thirty thousand remained as captives.

Soon after Tyre became a Christian possession, it was constituted an archbishopric; and embraced within its province the important dioceses of Beirout Sidon, Sarepta, and Ptolemais. Tradition points to some ruins on the eastern side of the city as the remains of a church built on the spot where our Lord stood and preached, when the woman cried out, in the fulness of her joy and faith, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee!" So too it is said, that the "well of living water," spoken of in the Canticles, may be seen about a league distant from the city, towards the south, in the village of Ras-el-Ain. This well, as described by a traveller* who visited it in the seventeenth century, was very deep, and overflowed with such a copious stream as to turn a mill. Close to the well was a reservoir formed of beautifully-sculptured marble; and in this the Turks, it is said, performed their ablutions, believing in the efficacy of the waters to cleanse them from their sins. Numerous ruins show that this spot was once the favourite retreat of wealth and greatness. Beautiful gardens once covered the whole site; and the more imaginative traveller seems still to hear, as he reads on this spot the song of songs, the plaintive echoes of past delight. That no part of the inclosure might be without the means of irrigation, a noble aqueduct was formed, the finest, it is said, in the East, and by this the waters from Mount Lebanon were conducted to the remotest portion of the grounds.†

Tyre itself is situated on an island distant from the main land near half-a-mile. Alexander the Great formed and executed the project of connecting the city with the shore by means of a mole. The waves of the Mediterranean have for countless ages washed the foundations of this ancient emporium of the old world's commerce. But they break harmlessly against them, as if it were specially intended that some relic of the past should here continue to speak of buried greatness. The eloquent Chateaubriand having landed not far from this part of the coast, says, "I spent part of the night in contemplating this sea of Tyre, which is called in Scripture the Great Sea, and which bore the fleets of the royal prophet when they went to fetch the cedars of Lebanon and the purple of Sidon; that sea, where leviathan leaves traces behind him like abysses; that sea to which

* Eugene Roger: Recollect. Missionare de Barbarie. La Terre Sainte, p. 49. Paris, 1664.

† No modern traveller gives credit to the account given by Eugene Roger and others of the origin of the wells at Ras-el-Ain.

the Lord set barriers and gates; that affrighted deep, which beheld God and fled. This was neither the wild ocean of Canada, nor the playful waves of Greece. To the south extended that Egypt, into which the Lord came riding upon a swift cloud, to dry up the channels of the Nile and to overthrow the idols; to the north was seated that queen of cities whose merchants were princes. 'Howl ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is laid waste.'

"But this was not all. The sea which I contemplated washed the shores of Galilee on my right and the plain of Ascalon on my left. In the former I met with the traditions of the patriarchal life and of the nativity of our Saviour. In the latter I discovered memorials of the Crusades and the shades of the heroes of Jerusalem. It was with reluctance that I withdrew my eyes from that sea which revives so many recollections."

Old Tyre stood on the main land, and is the city alluded to in the most ancient records. Pococke, in speaking of the fountains of Solomon, says, "Near the north-east of the great bay, which is south of Tyre, there is a fountain inclosed in the same manner as the others, except that the walls are not so high; and I saw the foundations and remains of an aqueduct, which appears to have been low, and not to have been built on arches. It probably went to old Tyre, which seems to have been in the corner of the bay; because near the spring there is a little hill, which, in all probability, is the very mount that Nebuchadnezzar raised in order to take the city, which was destroyed, as described by the prophet Ezekiel, c. xxvi. 7. And I saw a ruin to the south-east of this hill. It is no wonder that there are no signs of the ancient city, since Alexander carried all the remains of it away, in order to join new Tyre to the continent; and as it is a sandy shore the face of everything is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is almost buried in the sand."

Some doubt is entertained whether the island on which Tyre is built was originally, as is stated, half-a-mile from the main land. "If it was," says Pococke, "it must have been a very small island, and a work of great expense to join it to the continent." The city which the King of Babylon besieged was on the main land. Even then, indeed, the island, it is remarked, must have been inhabited, mention being made of it in Scripture and elsewhere, as populous in the time of Solomon;* but the prophecy that Tyre should be built no more, must be understood of the ancient city on the continent.

"There are some few remains of the walls all round," says the same writer; "and of a port on the north side, defended by strong walls. At the east end, also, there are ruins of two great square towers, very strongly built, which seem to have served for reservoirs of water from the aqueduct, in order to distribute it all over the city, for there are foundations of a thick wall from one to the other, which probably are

* Isaiah xxiii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 4, 32. xxviii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. viii. 2.

remains of the aqueduct. The east of the city appears to have been defended by three walls, and as many fosses.

"Within the walls there are great ruins of a very large church, built of hewn stone both within and without, in the Syrian taste, with three naves, each of them ending in a semicircle. There are also very perfect remains of several buildings to the north of it, which probably belonged to the archiepiscopal palace. I also saw some granite pillars, which, they say, are the remains of a church dedicated to St. John; and near it is the ruinous church of St. Thomas, part of which is repaired, and serves as a church for two or three Christian families that are there. Besides these, there are few other inhabitants, except some Janizaries, who live in the castle near the port."

But the condition of Tyre has improved since the time of Maundrell and Pococke. In 1815, it contained near eight-hundred substantial stone-built houses, having courts and other conveniences, as well as several smaller habitations for the poor. There were three bazaars, a mosque, and three Christian churches. The population amounted, it is said, at the lowest computation, to between five and eight thousand persons; and a considerable trade was carried on both with the interior and with the Greek islands.* Some travellers who visited Tyre in 1817 say, "We put up at the house of an Arab, who called himself a Christian archbishop. The establishment was a very humble one, as might be expected in so mean a place. The prophecies of the fall of Tyre seem to be fulfilled in the present appearance of Tsour, there being no vestige remaining of the ancient city but mere rubbish. The isthmus which Alexander caused to be made for the prosecution of his attack on the city, has now the appearance of being the work of nature. The port is much choked up with mud. The walls and castle are visible: but I should strongly suspect they are not the same which existed at the time when Tyre was in its glory."† Dr. Robertson, in his very interesting account of his visit to this city in June, 1838, says, "Tyre has indeed become, like the top of a rock, a place to spread nets upon. The sole remaining tokens of her more ancient splendour lie strewed beneath the waves in the midst of the sea; and the hovels which now nestle upon a portion of her site, present no contradiction of the dread decree, 'Thou shalt be built no more.'" Again: "The city lies only upon the eastern part of the island. Between the houses and the western shore is a broad strip of open land, now given up to tillage. This shore is strewed from one end to the other, along the edge of the water and in the water, with columns of red and gray granite of various sizes, the only remaining monuments of the splendour of ancient Tyre. At the N. W. point of the island forty or fifty such columns are thrown together in one heap beneath the waves."

Remains of edifices belonging probably to the middle ages are found in other

* Buckingham's Travels, p. 47. † Irby and Mangles: Travels in Syria, p. 198.

parts of the town. But the general appearance of the place must have undergone considerable alteration within the last few years. The houses, for the most part, are abodes of wretchedness; and the population is estimated at less than three thousand.

Many are the warriors and other distinguished men whose ashes are mingled with the dust of this ancient city. The bones of Frederick Barbarossa were deposited in the vaults of its venerable cathedral. But greater than all the rest whose names are mentioned in connexion with Tyre, was the profound and virtuous Origen, who here ended a life devoted, from beginning to end, to the study of divine truth.

The road from Tyre towards Acre carries the traveller by the village of Ras-el-Ain, celebrated for the fountains already spoken of. Numerous traces of the ancient paved way are also visible; and the ruins of a fort erected, it is probable, at a period much anterior to that of the Crusades, though employed by the Christian princes as a valuable place of defence. For a considerable distance the road runs along the edge of the cliff, which beetles over the sea and forms a part of the celebrated ladder of the Tyrians. The prospect from this elevated ground extends over the magnificent plain of Acre, said to be fifteen miles in length and about five in breadth. Here too is seen the little town of Zib, supposed to be the ancient Achzib. "Then the coast turneth to Ramah, and to the strong city Tyre. And the coast turneth to Hosah; and the out-goings thereof are at the sea, from the coast to Achzib."* and, "neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of *Achzib*."†

Traces of superior cultivation increase as the traveller proceeds on his road to Acre. The appearance of the peasants betokens comfort and plenty. Cottages built of stone stand in the midst of well-tilled fields and olive-grounds; and the general state of the roads and narrow causeways affords a further proof of the comparative prosperity enjoyed by this part of the country.‡

Acre or Ptolomais, anciently Accho, has derived its twofold appellation, it is said, from the circumstance that it was founded by twin brothers, Acon and Ptolomais. In early times it was one of the royal residences of the Kings of Egypt and Syria, and was celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses in the country. During the Crusades it was formed into a bishopric, and was subsequently held by the Knights of Malta. In the year 1281, when Henry de Lusignan was King of Jerusalem, the Saracens laid siege to it with an army of sixty thousand cavalry, and a hundred and sixty thousand infantry. Mighty as this force of the assailants was, the downfall of the city is attributed less to the power of the enemy than to the dissensions which reigned

* Joshua, xix. 29. † Judges, i. 31.

‡ In the year 636, Acre was taken by the Saracens: in 1104, it was taken by Baldwin, the first Christian King of Jerusalem: in 1187, Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, took it: in 1191, King Richard of England and Philip of France retook it: in 1291, the Saracens again gained possession of it, and by them it was lost to the Turks in 1517.

within the fortress. No fewer than seventeen nations are said to have had their representatives in Acre at this time, and each contended for the right to reign supreme in the public council. France and England; the Kings of Naples and Cyprus; the Knights of Malta; the Prince of Antioch; the Count of Tripoli; the Apostolic Legate; the Genoese; Florentines, Pisans, Armenians, Tartars; all had some pretension to direct the movements of the garrison, and the unhappy city fell a vast heap of ruins, while they were still disputing for the mastery.*

The value of the place was well understood by the leader of the Saracens. As soon as the ground could be cleared where the once magnificent palace of the Grand Master of Malta stood, he erected a spacious bazaar, consisting of twenty-four magazines, and with chambers for the accommodation of French, Venetian, and Dutch merchants. The repair of the fortifications was carried on at the same time; and Acre again looked proudly upon the waves, rejoicing, as it seemed, to tempt and to defy the mightiest armaments of successive ages.

But when Maundrell visited it in 1697 Acre was still exhibiting melancholy proofs of the injury which it had suffered from this and subsequent revolutions. "With the exception," he says, "of a large khan, in which the French factors have taken up their quarters, a mosque, and a few poor cottages, you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin. It is such a ruin, however, as sufficiently demonstrates the strength of the place in former times. It appears to have been encompassed, on the land side, by a double wall, defended with towers at small distances; and without the wall are ditches, ramparts, and a kind of bastions faced with hewn-stone. In the fields beyond these works we saw scattered up and down upon the ground several large balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter, which were part of the ammunition used in battering the city, guns being then unknown. Within the walls there still appear several ruins, which seem to distinguish themselves from the general heaps by some marks of a greater strength and magnificence. At first, those of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Andrew, which stands not far from the sea-side, higher and more conspicuous than the other ruins. Secondly, the church of St. John, the tutelar saint of this city. Thirdly, the Convent of the Knights Hospitallers, a place whose remaining walls sufficiently testify its ancient strength; and not far from the convent, the palace of the grand master of that order. The magnificence of this may be guessed from a large staircase and part of a church still remaining in it. Another dilapidated edifice, an extensive monastery, was pointed out to Maundrell as the scene of an heroic sacrifice to terrified honour and purity. Finding that the enemy had entered the city, the presiding lady of the establishment resolved to save herself and her companions from being consigned to the harems of the conqueror. Not a moment was to be lost. With the first weapons she could seize, she so effectually gashed and disfigured her face, as to leave no

* Morrison, Naud, Maundrell.

visible remains of beauty. Her example was eagerly and gratefully followed by her youthful companions. The soldiers entered while the gore was still clotted on their faces. Enraged at the spectacle, disappointed of their prey and of their hopes, the barbarians instantly struck the bleeding girls dead at their feet.

According to an anecdote related of the times of Saint Louis, Acre must long have been favourable to the cultivation of enthusiastic piety. It is said that while the good monarch was in the city, one of his monks met an old woman in the streets, carrying in one hand a cruse of water, and in the other a little basket of burning coals. When the monk asked her for what purpose she carried these things about, she answered, that she wished with the one to extinguish the fires of hell, and with the other to burn up paradise; for that if this were done, it might be possible to overcome the base and selfish spirit of man, and teach him to love God for himself alone.

As Acre is so remarkable in history, says Pococke,* "I took some pains in examining the ground and country about it. Half a mile east of the city is a small hill, improved by art. It is about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile broad; and is very steep every way, except to the south-west. This was probably the camp of the besiegers, as it was a fine situation for that purpose; and the Pasha pitches his tent on this hill when he goes the yearly circuits to receive his tribute. To the north of this there is an irregular rising ground, where there are great ruins of vaults, some of which seem to have been reservoirs of water; and probably this might be a place where they deposited some of the less valuable baggage of the army. To the north-west of this place, and a mile to the north of the city, there is another fine situation for a camp, being a rising ground. On the highest part of it are the ruins of a very strong square tower; and near it is a mosque, a tower, and other great buildings. The place is called Abonotidy, from a sheik who was buried there. Half way between this place and Acre there is a fine well, which always abounds in water; and it is probable there might be some private canal from it to the city. One day I went about eight miles to the north-east. At the distance of five miles from the town we came to a rivulet, and travelled by the side of it in a narrow valley, between high hills; at the end of which we came to a castle on a hill. At the bottom of it there is a large building of hewn stone. This place is called by Europeans, the *Enchanted Castle*. *The Castle of Indi*, and *the Strong Mountain*, or Mount Feret, are mentioned as fortresses belonging to the Knights near Acre."

Mr. Buckingham states that the Saracenic remains at Acre are now only partially to be traced in the inner walls of the town; and that the ruins of the Christian edifices spoken of by Maundrell and others, are no longer to be seen. But shafts of red and grey granite, and marble pillars, are found in every part of the town, either lying altogether neglected, or employed in the construction of some humble

* Observations on Palestine, c. xiii. p. 53.

edifice. The town itself, says the same traveller, presents a mixture of the gaudy and the miserable, the ill-contrived and the useful; in which, however, the latter may be said to prevail. Among the chief buildings are an extensive palace of Salihan Pasha, with spacious courts and fountains: opposite to this, a fine mosque, the dome and minarets of which are seen conspicuously from without; and another palace of Ali Pasha. These buildings, with a fountain near them in the public street, enclosed by a brasswork frame, and highly ornamented, are all executed in the style of Constantinople. There are also gardens near them, filled with trees in fine foliage, among which the tall and dark-green cypress are distinguishable.

Extensive bazaars once characterized Acre as the resort of busy, wealthy strangers. An old caravansary in this city was said to be the finest edifice of the kind in Syria. Nothing was wanting in this remarkable establishment to the comfort of the stranger; and in its spacious apartments might be seen the representatives of most of the trading nations of the world. But in the memorable sieges which Acre suffered during the late war, the calamities to which its situation exposed it in earlier ages were renewed. It was taken in 1832, after a fierce struggle, by the Egyptian forces; and in November, 1840, it was destroyed by the explosion of one of its own magazines, while the British fleet was assailing it from without.

FROM ACRE TO NAZARETH

AND CANA OF GALILEE.

The European stranger finds himself at Acre, in the midst of a population which bears little of the impress of religious tradition. On leaving the gates of the city, cheerful country scenes stretch far and wide before him. The plain of Acre is said to be about three leagues in breadth, and is studded with villages, occupying the sites of once important and flourishing towns. According to early writers, partridges, hares, and other game are abundant in this district; and the venison, they add, would be excellent were it not eaten too young.

It is not till after he has proceeded about two leagues on his road, that the traveller begins to experience again those solemn feelings which the lively and busy look of Acre has tended to interrupt. At this stage of the journey, between Acre and Nazareth, is a place which the Arabs, according to D'Arvieux, were accustomed from remote times to occupy as a strong-hold and hiding-place. The chevalier travelled with a strong escort, and expected to be attacked in passing this spot, which he calls the worst in all Galilee. The appearance, however, which he and his companions presented daunted the marauders; and he adds, with chivalrous confidence, that had even two hundred Arabs assailed their little troop, they would have gained nothing but blows.

After passing this spot, the traveller enters upon the noble plain of Zabulon, which, though wanting the beauty and cheerfulness imparted to a country by smiling villages or picturesque towns, and the moving panorama of busy life, has the singular charm which so peculiarly belongs to extensive plains when covered with the rich produce of successful culture. To this district succeeds another, abounding in olive-groves, whose grey tints, and fantastically cleft and twisted stems, give an air of remote antiquity even to nature herself. Here, too, the numerous streams which flow from the neighbouring mountains break strangely with their murmurs upon the silence of the country. Wherever the eye wanders there are evidences of God's bounty; but there are indications also of his chastisements: for numerous ruins mark the spots where cities once stood, which, but for the wickedness of the people and their rulers, might still have rejoiced in opulence and splendour.

In former times the district which now exhibits so few marks of social life, teemed with the fruits of high civilization and prosperity. This was the case with the banks of the Belus, on which, it is recorded, the first discovery was made which led to the

manufacture of glass. Some sailors, according to the received account, had landed from their ship to prepare their meal, and having with some blocks of nitre made a sort of tripod to support their caldron, they soon found the fire converting the sand into a sort of liquified glass. Very extensive manufactories of the material were early established in Sidon, and other neighbouring cities, in consequence of the abundant supply of alkali, which it was now known could be obtained from the sands of the Belus, and vessels were despatched from Europe in the seventeenth century for the purpose of conveying the sand to the great glass-manufactories of Italy.

The Belus is only about two stadia from Acre; and a little further on is the river Kishon, the name of which is associated with so many recollections of ancient devotion and heroism. "They fought from heaven: the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon."*

"In travelling under the south-east brow of Carmel," says Shaw,† "I had an opportunity of seeing the sources of the river Kishon; three or four of which lie within less than a furlong of each other, and are called *Ras-el-Kishon*, or the *head of Kishon*. These alone, without the lesser contributions nearer the sea, discharge water enough to form a river half as big as the Isis. During the rainy season, likewise, all the water which falls on the eastern side of the mountain, or upon the rising ground to the southward, empties itself into it in a number of torrents; at which conjunctures it overflows its banks, acquires a wonderful rapidity, and carries all before it. And it might be at such a conjuncture as this when the stars are said *to fight against Sisera*, that is, by bringing an abundance of rain, whereby the Kishon was so occasionally high and rapid as to sweep away the host of Sisera in attempting to ford it. But these inundations are extemporaneous only, without any duration; for the course of the Kishon, which is only about seven miles in length, runs very briskly, till within half a league of the sea. When the Kishon, therefore, is not augmented by these accidental torrents, it never falls into the sea in a full stream, but insensibly percolates through a bank of sand, which the north wind throws up against the mouth of it. In this manner I found it in the middle of April 1722, when I passed it."

But the most interesting spot on the road from Acre to Nazareth is that on which once stood the city of Sepphoris,‡ described by Josephus as the largest town in Galilee, and as occupying a position of such strength, that it might be regarded as a defence to the whole district. It is celebrated in later Jewish history. Herod Antipas trusted to the fortifications with which he surrounded it as the surest protection of his tetrarchy; and it is said that medals of the city were coined as late as the reign of Trajan.

Sephoury, as the village which has succeeded to the noble city of ancient times is

* Judges, v. 20, 21. † Page 274.

‡ For sixteen miles round, says the Jerusalem Talmud, Lightfoot's Works, vol. x. p. 394, was a land flowing with milk and honey. The great Sanhedrim sat here for some time after the destruction of Jerusalem. It was attacked and destroyed by a Roman army in the year 339.

called, possessed a few years back some valuable relics of the early Christian ages. The parents of the Virgin Mary are said to have been inhabitants of this place; and the house of St. Anne once stood, says tradition, where the stranger is now invited to contemplate the remains of a magnificent Gothic church. This edifice is spoken of by some travellers as one of the most magnificent structures to be seen in the Holy Land. "We entered," says Dr. Clarke, "beneath lofty massive arches of stone. The roof of the building was of the same materials. The arches are placed at the intersection of a Greek cross, and originally supported a dome or a tower. Their appearance is highly picturesque, and they exhibit the grandeur of a noble style of architecture. Broken columns of granite and marble lie scattered among the walls, and these prove how richly it was decorated. We measured the capital of a pillar of the order commonly called Tuscan, which we found lying against a pillar of granite. The top of this formed a square of three feet. One aisle of the building is yet entire. At the eastern extremity a small temporary altar had been recently constructed by the piety of pilgrims. It consisted of loose materials, and was of very modern date. Some fragments of the original decorations of the church had been gathered from the ruins, and laid upon this altar; and although they had remained open to every approach, even the Moslems had respected the votive offerings. We were less scrupulous; for among them, to our great surprise, we noticed an ancient painting, executed after the manner of the pictures worshipped in Russia, upon a square piece of wood, about half-an-inch in thickness. This picture, split through the middle, consisted of two pieces, which, placed one upon the other, lay upon the altar, covered with dust and cobwebs. From its appearance, it was evident that it had been found near the spot, the dirt not having been removed, and that the same piety which had been shown in collecting together the other scraps, had also induced some person to leave it upon the altar as a relic."*

Two other pictures of the same kind were afterwards discovered, and Dr. Clarke supposes that they might be attributed to a period long anterior to that in which the arts began to be known in Italy.

The road from Sephoury lies among barren, lime-stone rocks, exhibiting nothing but desolation, and seeming to defy any attempt at cultivation. Nazareth, which is situated about thirty leagues to the north of Jerusalem, occupies the brow of a rugged hill, in the middle of a narrow valley. From its very locality, it must have presented, even in its best days, no unfit image of the poor and humble state of the blessed Jesus. No mention is made of this place in the Old Testament; and it was in the time of our Saviour a by-word for poverty and contempt. The house inhabited

* Travels, vol. iv. p. 133. When Mr. Buckingham travelled from Acre to Nazareth, in 1815, he heard, on passing near Sephoury, that its Mahommedan inhabitants had taken so little care of its antiquities, that the remains of the house of St. Anne had been entirely destroyed, and that the visits of the Christian priests had long been discontinued. A fountain near this city is frequently spoken of in the history of the Crusades. The Christian chiefs often assembled there.

by the Virgin Mary is said to have remained in its original state till the Empress Helena erected a magnificent church on the spot. In the year 1291 this edifice was destroyed by the Sultan of Egypt, and it was then that the angels, says the famous tradition, carried part of the holy house first to Dalmatia and then to Loretto, in the forest of Recanati. "The Latin fathers of the Holy Sepulchre," says Pococke,* "have a large, well-built convent and church here. Near the latter are some remains of a much larger, which seems by the architecture to be of the time of the Empress Helena; for there remain several capitals and bases of pillars, and other pieces of ancient work in a tolerable good taste, and over a door is an old alt-relief of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes. The church is said to be built over the place where the house of Joseph and Mary stood, and they show the spot from which, they say, the holy house of Loretto was removed.† There is a descent to it by steps; and within it there is a grot cut out of the soft rock, to which, it is said, the house adjoined, so that the grotto was part of their habitation. The great church built over the house of Joseph is mentioned by the writers of the seventh and twelfth century. To the north of the convent are ruins of a small church, which, it is said, was on the spot where Joseph had his house, probably apart from the women, according to the Eastern custom, where they suppose he exercised his trade. To the west of this there is a small arched building, which, they say, is the synagogue where Christ explained the text of Isaiah, concerning himself, by which he gave such great offence to his countrymen; and on the other side of the hill, to the west, they show a large rock in a quarry, on which they affirm that Christ eat with his disciples.

"About a furlong to the north of the village is a fountain, over which there is an arch turned. It runs into a beautiful marble vase, which seems to have been a tomb. Beyond it is a Greek church underground, where the Greeks say, the angel Gabriel first saluted the blessed Virgin. There is a fountain in it, and formerly there was a church built over it.

"We went two miles south, to the mountain of the precipice, winding round to a part of the valley which is very narrow, having high hills on each side of it. To the west is the mountain of the precipice, which is towards the south end of a steep and rocky ridge of hills. We ascended about a quarter of the way up the hill, where there is an altar cut in the rock, with an arch over it, and some remains of a Mosaic pavement. There are two cisterns near it. The monks come here to celebrate mass. About forty feet higher is the place from which, they say, the Jews would have thrown our Saviour down. There are two high stones at the edge of the rock, like a parapet wall, where they show, what they say are the prints of Christ's hands and feet when he resisted the violence they used against him. We ascended to the

* Naud. Voyage Nouveau, lib. v. c. xiii. p. 604. Doubdan Voyage, c. lii. p. 506.

† Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 1. Observations on Palestine, p. 61.

top of the hill, which is so covered with great loose pieces of rock, that it was difficult to descend into the valley to the north-east by which we returned."*

Mr. Buckingham was treated with great kindness by the monks of Nazareth, and relates their traditions with indulgent complacency. Passing from one part of the grotto to another, over steps cut out of the rock, we came, he says, "to a chamber which the friars called *La Cucina della Santa Madona.* They here showed us the chimney of the hearth on which Mary warmed the food for Jesus, while yet an helpless infant; and where she baked the cakes for her husband's supper when he returned from the labours of the day." It is added, "The fact of Joseph and Mary having resided in this house, and used the very room in which we stood as their kitchen, has nothing at all of improbability in it, and as excavated buildings, in the side of a steep hill like this, would be more secure, and even more comfortable than fabricated ones, it is quite as probable that this might have really been the residence of the holy family as of any other."

Dr. Clarke, who arrived at Nazareth when the plague was raging there,† says that the church, built over the cave in which the Virgin is supposed to have resided, is regarded as a sanctuary against the scourge of the pestilence. "So powerful is the influence of superstition in this country, that at the time of our visit, the Franciscan friars belonging to the convent had been compelled to surround their altars with an additional fencing, in order to prevent persons infected with the plague from seeking a miraculous cure, by rubbing their bodies with the hangings of the sanctuary, and thus communicating infection to the whole town; because all who entered saluted these hangings with their lips. Many of those unhappy patients believed themselves to be secure, from the moment when they were brought within the walls of this building, although in the last stage of the disorder. As we passed towards the church, one of the friars, rapidly conducting us, pointed to some invalids who had recently exhibited marks of the infection. These men were then sitting upon the bare earth, in cells, around the court-yard of the convent, waiting for a miraculous recovery. The sight of infected persons so near us rather checked our curiosity, but it was too late to render ourselves more secure by retreating. We had been told, that if we chose to venture into the church, the doors of the convent would be opened; and, therefore, had determined to risk a little danger, rather than be disappointed; particularly as it was said the sick were kept apart, in a place expressly allotted to them. We now began to be sensible we had acted without sufficient caution; and it is well we had not good reason afterwards to repent of our imprudence. Having entered the church, the friars put burning wax tapers in our

* Doubdan enters into a long defence of the tradition respecting the print of Christ's hands and feet on the rock. Other travellers dispute the truth of the account which points out the site of the precipice, and contend that the rock overhanging the town was the scene of the violence offered to our Lord.

† Travels, vol. iv. p. 160.

hands, and charging us on no account to touch anything, led the way, muttering their prayers. We descended by a flight of steps into the cave, entering by means of a small door, behind an altar laden with pictures, wax candles, and all sorts of superstitious trumpery. They pointed out to us what they called the *kitchen*, and the *fire-place* of the Virgin Mary. As all these sanctified places in the Holy Land contain some supposed miracle for exhibition, the monks of Nazareth have taken care not to be without their share in supernatural rarities. Accordingly, the first thing they show to strangers who descend into this cave, are two stone pillars in the front of it; one of which, separated from its base, is said to sustain its capital, and part of its shaft miraculously in the air. The fact is, that the capital and a piece of the shaft of a pillar of grey granite have been fastened on to the roof of the cave; and so clumsily is the rest of the *hocus pocus* contrived, that what is shown for the lower fragment of the sand-pit pillar resting upon the earth, is not of the same substance, but of *Cipolin* marble. About this pillar a different story has been related to almost every traveller, since the trick was first devised. Maundrell, and Egmont, and Heyman were told that it was broken by a pasha, in search of hidden treasure, who was struck with blindness for his impiety. We were assured that it separated in this manner when the angel announced to the Virgin the tidings of her conception. The monks had placed a rail to prevent persons infected with the plague from coming to rub against these pillars. This had been for many years their constant practice, whenever afflicted with any sickness. The reputation of the broken pillar for healing every kind of disease prevails all over Galilee."

The Chevalier d'Arvieux found the Turks and Moors, no less than the Christians, convinced of the sanctity and healing virtues of this broken column; but with regard to the miracle, he contents himself with observing, that the wonder was that so huge a mass of marble should remain suspended in the air, supported only by the roof of the grotto.

The environs of Nazareth are so wild and desolate, that they need not the help of tradition to impress a thoughtful mind with solemn recollections of the early life of him who was brought up to be "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." But Nazareth is not without its fountains: and their pure, refreshing waters afford a beautiful emblem of that new life which the poor, but divine Jesus came to bestow upon a ruined world.

"In the valley," says Dr. Clarke, "appeared one of those fountains which, from time immemorial, have been the halting-place of caravans, and sometimes the scene of contention and bloodshed. The women of Nazareth were passing to and from the town, with pitchers upon their heads. We stopped to view the group of camels, with their drivers, who were there reposing; and calling to mind the manners of the most remote ages, we renewed the solicitation of Abraham's servant to Rebecca, by the well of Nahor.* In the writings of early pilgrims and travellers, this spring

* Gen. xxiv. 17.

is denominated 'The Fountain of the Virgin Mary;' and certainly if there be a spot throughout the Holy Land, that was undoubtedly honoured by her presence, one may consider this to have been the place; because the situation of a copious spring is not liable to change; and the custom of repairing thither to draw water has been continued among the female inhabitants of Nazareth, from the earliest period of its history."

"Every scene," says Lord Lindsay,* "of our Saviour's life at Nazareth is marked by chapels and churches. There is a well, however, named after the Virgin, to the east of the city, which we gazed at with evident interest. It still supplies Nazareth with water, and thither, without a doubt, came the Virgin mother, and her Saviour son, day after day, to draw water; as we also saw the daughters of Nazareth coming."

"If any of the present traditional sites," says Mr. Bartlett, "of the life of Jesus and his parents are worthy of credit, we should be disposed to select that of which we here give an engraving. It is at a short distance from the village, much frequented by women, bearing their water-jars in the picturesque and graceful fashion we have endeavoured to represent. The spot is very pretty; the small white fountain stands just under the hill behind Nazareth, and is supplied with water from a spring *under* the Greek church of the Annunciation, a low building seen in the background. It would appear that here formerly existed a subterraneous church or chapel around the spring. The path of approach to the open space before the fountain is bordered by hedges of prickly pear; groups of women are continually passing, and there is an incessant strife and chorus of female voices at the fountain itself. In addition, trains of laden camels or passing travellers add to the life and animation of the spot. It was not without considerable difficulty that we could get any of the women to stand a few moments for their portraits; the eloquence of my Turkish servant—and, to do him justice, he possessed amazing readiness and volubility—being in full play the whole time. The habit of carrying the jars, of course in a perfectly erect position, their figure being unfettered by certain western contrivances, gives an exquisite grace to their movements: they are generally tall, and many possess no common beauty of face and person. Their various modes of bearing the water-jars are copied exactly in the engraving, as well as their costume, which is exceedingly elegant, plying to their lithe and undulating movements with a perfection that a Parisian milliner would be puzzled to attain.

"Nothing is more probable than that this spring should have been frequented from the earliest period; and the imagination may reasonably picture the mother of Jesus coming with her child, like the rest of the women of Nazareth, to fetch water from the fountain. The cliff which rises steeply behind the village, appears stamped with every appearance of identity, as one of the sites referred to in the few notices of Nazareth occurring in the New Testament."

* Vol. ii. p. 84. Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land.

"From the window," says the same gentleman, "of the massive stone structure, which serves as a receptacle for the pilgrim and the traveller, I looked out upon the little valley in search of some spot where I might retire and wear away the remaining hour or two of a very exciting day in tranquil repose among its shades; a group of massive carob-trees, just lifted above its green level, about half-a-mile from the village, struck me as the very retirement I wished, and in a short time I was stretched beneath their ample branches.

"The quiet beauty of the scene was remarkable; it was such as the Italian painters would have selected in the midst of which to place their groups of the Madonna and infant Jesus. It is rarely the case that a locality satisfies the imagination, but in this instance there was nothing wanting. The spreading trees above me bent over towards the valley, almost touching the ground, and seeming as a frame to confine the picture. The little valley lay below, encircled by hills of moderate height, alternately green and rocky, beneath which, half hidden, the white buildings of Nazareth appear to nestle for shelter; on the left the hills drop quietly to the valley beautifully broken by groups of trees and rocky fragments.

"The sun was setting, and camels and asses laden with grain descended from all sides into the level valley, where the rich produce of the soil was deposited. The animals, relieved of their loads, were enjoying their provender; the laborious peasants, seated among the heaps of corn, with their pipes, quietly enjoying the coolness of the evening. It was beautiful to watch the light upon the flocks, as they descended from the hills, preceded by their owners on horseback in their bright-coloured costume, their arms slung across their shoulders.

"It would add to the interest of the landscape with figures which we here present to the reader, if the peasants, whose picturesque forms and costume occupy the foreground, were of the same race who dwelt upon the soil in the days of Christ. But there is no Jewish population in the valley, which is inhabited principally by a race of Arab blood, or rather of a mixture of Syrian and Arab. They are strong, well made, and fearless. The peasant whose face is towards the spectator, is clothed principally in garments of sheepskin; in his leather girdle are a brace of pistols and his pipe; his head is invested in a picturesque bernous or handkerchief, woven with lines of gold and vermilion, whose ample folds are considered the best protection against the summer heat; and his feet are shod with sandals tied by leather thongs. The long robe which is seen on the back of the other peasant is the common costume of the country, and is exceedingly broad, noble, and picturesque; probably, from its simplicity and adaptation to the climate, it is of very early origin; so that the group before us may differ little from similar ones in the time of the patriarchs."

"On gaining the hill above Nazareth," says Mr. Bartlett, in another note, "the

view that opened was one of the most beautiful as well as interesting in Palestine; of the principal portion of it I have endeavoured to give an idea in the engraving.

"The survey of the formation of the district was of itself curious, reminding me of the models of Swiss scenery often met with. The shape of the sequestered vale of Nazareth, branching out of the great plain of Esdraelon, with its sheltering hills, the plain itself, with the direction of its mountain-boundaries, were distinctly made out. A singular contrast is presented by the narrow valley and extensive plain: the former green, well shaded by olive-groves, and having on the sides of its boundaries occasional groups of large carob-trees; while the distant plain is one level sheet of corn, unrelieved by a single object.

"Viewed from this precipice, which would seem to be identical with that from which the enraged Nazarenes sought to cast Jesus, the modern town lies at our feet; and, as *may be seen in the view*, some of its buildings cluster picturesquely among the trees on the hill-slopes above. The principal mass of building, enclosed within a high wall, is the convent, and opposite stands the receptacle for pilgrims I have alluded to. The whole extent of the town is not shown in the engraving: to say the truth, the view from this point is too map-like, and wants grouping. To the left of the valley of Nazareth, and on the side of the mountain, a touch of light shows the position of Nain; the vast plain of Esdraelon is in the distance. From a higher point the Mediterranean and Mount Carmel may be seen.

"My sketch finished, I hastened through the town, or rather village, to the convent. Most eastern towns are alike in character, varying only in the comparative width and narrowness of the streets, and the greater or lesser accumulation of filth. Nazareth, so far as our observation went, is open and cheerful; and its population manly, robust, and independent in their aspect; the women handsome, and graceful, and erect in their carriage."

Impressed as most travellers have been with the solemnity of the scenery about Nazareth, the Christian who contemplates, even in imagination, its savage rocks and precipices, will often find himself deeply moved at the recollection that it was among such scenes the human character of our Lord was developed. Nature looked like a stern mother, denying to his childhood all tenderness and indulgence. He was driven back upon himself, upon pure, simple humanity, that is, whenever he would rejoice in the good and the beautiful. There was, indeed, one being in the world whose holiness and inexpressible fondness must have been to him a source of pure delight. But he knew that his high destiny as man would bring with it sorrows that must pierce through her heart like a sharp sword; and often, no doubt, would he feel that the rough hills and unverdant paths about him were better suited to a youth like his than the lovely retreats of Carmel and Sharon.

It is, indeed, a circumstance not lightly to be passed over by the thoughtful

Christian, that the early life of his Saviour and great exemplar was passed in such a place as Nazareth. If, according to the ordinary laws of the human mind, the circumstances in which he was placed had any influence upon his feelings, who can doubt but that the aspect which outward nature assumed must have often affected the current of his thoughts. "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," the brighter forms of the earth were hidden from his youthful gaze. If he was to look for beauty or sympathy in any part of the visible universe, it was in the heavens above he was to find the symbols of his Father's benevolence. There the inhabitant of the most sterile land may bathe his thoughts in glory, reading that God is love; and there the blessed Jesus, in poor and gloomy Nazareth, might trace the starry path along which, after the destined period of his trial, he would ascend to his eternal abode.

Surrounded by mountains, and far apart from the more frequented districts of Palestine, the inhabitants of Galilee exhibited many of those characteristics generally found to distinguish the people of hilly regions from those of softer or more fertile lands. The contempt in which Nazareth itself was held led the Jews to indulge themselves in reviling it at the expense of truth. "Out of Galilee ariseth no prophet," was a common saying. "But out of Galilee," it is observed "arose the renowned prophet Jonah, of Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulun. And in Galilee was much of the converse of Elias; but especially of Elisha, at Shunem, in the tribe of Issachar; and all these three famous apostles of the Gentiles." And again: "Galilee, as base as it was in the repute of the Jews of Judea, had, notwithstanding, been renowned in many achievements and for many occurrences; and at length came to be the most honourable of all places, for the residence of Christ and the birth-place of the gospel. Moses* had foretold that Zebulun and Issachar, Galileans, should call the people unto the mountain of the Lord's house to offer sacrifices of righteousness;" and Jacob,† before him, that "Naphtali, the Galilean. should give goodly words:" both evident and glorious predictions of the original of the gospel in these places. Add to this that both Zebulun and Naphtali had won great renown in the overthrow of Sisera, and in the wars of Gideon.

Several intimations exist in the rabbinical writings of the comparatively rude, but honest character of the Galileans. Thus in some accounts of the mode of writing the instrument necessary to secure a marriage dowry, it is said, "The Galileans cared for reputation, not for money. The inhabitants of Judea cared for money, not for reputation." So, also, "The wise men say, In Judea they did servile works on the passover, even until noon; in Galilee, not at all."

The difference in the dialect of the Galileans from that of the other Jews is memorably recorded in the gospel: "Surely, thou also art one of them, for thy

* Deut. xxxiii. 19. † Gen. xlix. 21.

speech bewrayeth thee."* Some curious illustrations are given of this peculiarity by Jewish writers. Thus it is said, "To the men of Judea, who were exact in their language, their law is established in their hands. To the men of Galilee, who are not exact in their language, their law is not established in their hands." To the same purpose; "The men of Judea learn from one master, and their law is established in their hands. The Galileans learn not from one master, and their law is not established in their hands." Upon which the gloss or commentary runs thus:—"The Galileans heard one master in one language, and another in another; and the diversity of the language or pronunciation confounded them so, that they forgot."

Instances are given of the pronunciation of the Galileans, which leaves it no longer a matter of surprise that a native of Galilee might easily be discovered by his speech. It is said, that a certain Galilean intending to ask, "Whose is this *immar?*" that is, *lamb*, pronounced the first letter so imperfectly, that the hearers knew not whether he meant, *chamar*, that is, an *ass;* or, *chamar*, *wine;* or, *amar*, *wool;* or, *immar*, a *lamb.* Again: a Galilean woman intending to say to some person, "Come, and I will feed you with milk," spoke so indistinctly, that she appeared to say, "My neighbour, a lion shall eat you." Of another, it is told, that, presenting herself before the judge to make a complaint of a robbery which she had suffered, she intended to say, "My lord, I had a picture which they stole; and it was so large, that if you had been placed in the frame, your feet would not have touched the ground:" but instead of saying this, her words bore the following meaning:—"Sir slave, I had a beam, and they stole it away; it was so great, that if they had hung thee on it, thy feet would not have touched the ground."†

We may conclude from these circumstances, that the inhabitants of Galilee were generally uneducated and wanting in refinement. They were, however, a bold and comparatively virtuous people; and the character of several of the apostles appears to have been strongly influenced by the common feelings of their countrymen. It was not till several centuries after the ascension of our Lord that Nazareth became a place of any importance in the Christian church. During the Crusades it formed a part of the fief bestowed upon Tancred, who, in the first year of the new kingdom of Jerusalem, established by Godfrey, won the city of Tiberias from the Saracens, and received as the reward of his valour and devotion the whole principality of Galilee. Generously emulating the glory of his great leader in acts of piety, as well as in bravery, he established churches at Nazareth and Tiberias, and enriched them with large endowments. The name of Tancred was long celebrated in Galilee; and his noble deeds of charity shone forth in strange contrast with the avarice and selfishness which marked the conduct of his successors. Nazareth, which thus began to ac-

* Matt. xxvi. 73.

† Lightfoot's Chrorographical Century. Works, T. x. p. 158.

quire distinction by the wealth of its church, became a metropolitan see on the degradation of Scythopolis. In the early part of the twelfth century, the Bishop of Nazareth had a difficult controversy with the monks of Mount Tabor, who wished to deny his episcopal authority over their convent. By the decree, however, of a synod, the bishop was allowed the superintendence of the monastery, on condition that the consecration of the abbot, and other high solemnities, should be performed by the patriarch of Jerusalem.*

The victory which Saladin gained in the year 1187, at Mount Hattin, reduced Nazareth to its former poverty. In the pride of his success, the conqueror dispatched a powerful body of troops from Ptolemais, to scour the country in all directions. Terror and desolation attended their steps. The land was laid waste; and nothing but cries of despair were to be heard from Mount Carmel to Joppa and Lydda. A party of these troops having entered Nazareth, the Christians, who had sought refuge in the church of the Virgin, were immediately butchered; and the sacred edifice was everywhere stained with their blood.† It is carefully recorded by the chroniclers, that King Louis of France visited Nazareth in the pilgrimage which he made in the year 1250. But very few years passed after this before Nazareth was again laid in ruins by a victorious sultan. From this calamity it appears never to have recovered. The reverence due to the associations with which its name is connected must have excited, we should suppose, the zeal of many pious minds to desire the restoration of its church, or the establishment of religious institutions within its hallowed walls. But the few pilgrims who visited it were poor and obscure. The Mussulman inhabitants are described as unusually barbarous and intolerant; nor was it till that remarkable man, Fakhr-ed-Din, before spoken of, established his power in this district, that any attempt was made to render Nazareth an asylum for Christian worshippers. The work was commenced by some Franciscan monks; but, notwithstanding their zeal, and the advantages which they enjoyed, it was not till long after that Nazareth could number among its inhabitants more than three or four Christian families, and eight or ten monks.

At the beginning of the last century, the Christian population was much increased. The sacred spots pointed out by tradition were more eagerly sought by pilgrims; and, absurd as are many of the stories told by the credulous monks, there is still enough of truth written on the very face of the rocks which surround this poor and despised town, to recall the image of the heavenly being whose earliest experience of human existence was gained within its walls; who there set the first of that series of sublime examples which rendered his life the model of human perfection: for it was at Nazareth that, divine as he was, Jesus lived, subjected to the humblest of parents; and there that, by the pure devotion of a sanctified understanding, he so

* Wilken; Geschichte der Kreuzzügu. T. ii. K. xix. p. 365.

† Wilken, T. iii. p. 294.

studied the law and the prophets, in the earliest years of youth, that the most renowned doctors of the temple were astonished at his wisdom; and there it was that he awaited, with holy and patient submission to his Father's will, the fitting period for the manifestation of his high and glorious calling. When we thus bring to mind that Nazareth was, for just thirty years, the abode of Jesus; that it was there that his wonderful character became developed; and that there he prepared himself for the mighty work of his Messiahship;—few places, even in Palestine itself, can be regarded by the contemplative Christian with more interest or reverence.

Cana is the only place in the neighbourhood of Nazareth about the identity of which the Christian inquirer is likely to be much interested. A little village at the distance of about an hour and a half's journey is commonly described as the scene of our Lord's first miracle. Here, it is said, the mother of Constantine built a church. The ruins of this building were long preserved; and sculptured vases, in allusion to the miracle, formed the ornament of the main entrance. By a common tradition, also, this Cana was regarded as the abode of Simon the Canaanite and Nathanael. Lightfoot observes, that expositors speak very generally of a Cana the great, and Cana the less; the greater, near Sidon; the less, they agree not where; the one, according to Maldonat, called Cana of the Sidonians; the other, Cana of Galilee. It is true, he adds, that a double Cana is spoken of in scripture; one in the tribe of Asher, and the other in the tribe of Ephraim. "This, therefore, I cannot but conclude to be the place, and that it is called Cana of Galilee to distinguish it from the other Cana in the tribe of Ephraim, which was Cana of Samaria. And thus, supposing this our Cana to be in the tribe of Asher, as the scripture shows it us, those words of Jacob may not unfitly be applied, 'Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties;'* for *royal dainties* does Asher indeed yield when Christ turneth water into wine."

The situation of this place may, in some degree, be conjectured, from the fact, that Josephus tells us, in the account of his life, that he once abode there; and that, having occasion to hasten to Tiberias to overthrow a conspiracy against him, he left Cana, the village in Galilee, with a party of two hundred men, and, by travelling all night, arrived at Tiberias early in the morning.

But it has now become a matter of doubt whether what is generally said of Cana of Galilee, in ancient times, ought to be applied to Kefr-Kenna, as it is now called, or to Kâna-el-Jelîl. The former is situated on a hill a few miles distant from Nazareth, to the north-east. In the ruins of a Greek church there, Dr. Clarke saw some fragments of water-pots similar to those represented as used in ancient times. The spot also, with some ruins, is pointed out where, it is said, once stood the house inhabited by Nathanael.

Little credit, however, according to Dr. Robinson, ought to be given to any of the

* Genesis xlix. 23.

traditions which have raised this place to distinction. The real Cana, if that ingenious and learned traveller may be believed, is to be found in the Kâna-el-Jelîl, which is about twice the distance, in a different direction, from Nazareth. Both the Arabic name and ancient tradition are in favour of this supposition; the Cana at present pointed out not having been regarded as entitled to the reverence which it now enjoys till the sixteenth century. Supposing, however, that the weight of testimony was not in favour of Dr. Robinson's view, the respective distances of the two villages would go far towards deciding the question. A journey of three hours left little chance of familiar intercourse in ancient times. There is an apparent improbability that persons in the humble circumstances of our Lord, and his mother, and several of his disciples, should have gone so far from home merely to be present at a marriage feast. It is far easier to suppose them seeking to do honour to some friend, whose dwelling among the mountains they had often sought in seasons of festivity or repose. The mention of the disciples plainly indicates that the persons whose marriage was celebrated were not strangers to the inhabitants of Nazareth generally. But the people of a village situated at the distance of three hours, in the very heart of a mountainous district, would most likely be so; and the miracle itself, wrought in a place so remote from Nazareth, could scarcely be expected to produce the effect which followed—the awakening, that is of some degree of general attention to the real character and power of our Lord.

Kefr-Kenna, or, as it is supposed, the ancient Cana, lies on one of the direct roads to Tiberias. Scepticism is a bad companion for the pilgrim in Palestine, whether he be really there, or only mentally beholding its not fabled but storied hills and valleys. Far nobler, far more profitable will be his feelings in either case, if he can realize in his own heart some of those sublime sentiments expressed by him who has been called, and not wrongly, the Milton of English divines. "The married pair were holy, but poor, and they wanted wine; and the blessed virgin mother, pitying the affront of the young man, complained to Jesus of the want; and Jesus gave her an answer which promised no satisfaction to her purposes. For now that Jesus had lived thirty years, and done in person nothing answerable to his glorious birth and miraculous accidents of his person, she longed till the time came in which he was to manifest himself by actions as miraculous as the star of his birth. She knew by the rejecting of his trade, and going abroad, and probably by his own discourse to her, that the time was near; and the forwardness of her love and holy desires might possibly go some minutes before his own precise limits. However, Jesus answered to this purpose, to show that the work he was to do was done, not to satisfy her importunity, which is not occasion enough for a miracle, but to prosecute the great work of divine designation. At the command of Jesus the water-pots were filled with water, and water was, by his divine power, turned into wine, where the different economy of God and the world is highly observable. *Every man sets forth good wine at first, and then the worse;* but God not only turns the water into wine, but

into such wine that the last draught is most pleasant. The world presents us with fair language, promising hopes, convenient fortunes, pompous honours, and these are the outsides of the bowl; but when it is swallowed these dissolve in the instant, and there remains but the bitterness and the malignity of the fruit. Every sin smiles in the first address, and carries light in the face and honey in the lip; but when we have well drunk, then comes that which is worse, a whip with six strings,—fears, and terrors of conscience, and shame, and displeasure, and a caitive disposition, and diffidence in the day of death. But when, *after the manner of the purifying of the Christians*, we fill our water-pots with water, watering our couch with our tears, and moistening our cheeks with the perpetual distillations of repentance, then Christ turns our water into wine; first penitents, and then communicants; first waters of sorrow, and then the wine of the chalice; first the justifications of correction, and then the santifications of the sacrament, and the effects of the divine power,—joy, and peace, and serenity, hopes full of confidence, and confidence without shame, and boldness without presumption. For Jesus keeps the best wine till the last, not only because of the direct reservation of the highest joys till the nearer approaches of glory, but also because our relishes are higher after a long fruition than at the first essay; such being the nature of grace, that it increases in relish as it does in fruition, every part of grace being new duty and new reward."*

* Jeremy Taylor's Life of Christ, sec. x.

FROM NAZARETH TO TIBERIAS.

The journey from Nazareth to Tabaria, the ancient Tiberias, occupies about eight hours. Nothing of interest attracts the notice of the traveller on the wild, solitary road which leads from Nazareth to Cana. After leaving the latter place, several spots to which tradition has given a species of importance, reawaken the imagination, and the far from unprofitable train of thoughts so readily called up at the mention of the Saviour's name. The traveller who carefully investigates the evidence upon which a particular site may found its claim to reverence, will often deserve our gratitude, because he may succeed in really giving us something better than mere traditional proof, that we are meditating on the scenes consecrated by an especial blessing. But when the traveller is too nice and too frequent in his questionings, he is something like the critic who will not allow us to enjoy a fine passage in a poet, without disturbing our pleasure by suggesting, that scarcely a word can be depended upon as that of the author.

Popular feeling points out a mountain of an oblong shape, with two jutting peaks, about an hour's distance from Nain, as that on which our Lord miraculously fed the five thousand. It is commonly called *Mons Beatitudinis*, by the Latin Christians of the neighbourhood; but by the natives, Keroun Hottein, or the Horns of Hottein. Whatever the uncertainty attending the more ancient celebrity of this immediate district, no such doubt interferes with its historical interest, as the scene of the battle which destroyed the foundations of the Christian empire in Palestine.

Saladin, whose generous and noble character has cast the glare of romance over his vices as a conqueror, was approaching the zenith of his fame, when the Christians were placed under the government of a monarch utterly unworthy of his high dignity. Guy of Lusignan was a graceful and accomplished nobleman. He had won the affection of Sybilla, the sister of Balduin the fourth, the then king of Jerusalem. Balduin's infirmities induced him to appoint the husband of his sister to the regency of his kingdom. But Guy proved himself incapable of performing the duties of this trust; and Balduin not only appointed another regent, but declared the child, which Sybilla had had by a former marriage, the heir to his throne.

Balduin died in the year 1185, and was succeeded by his nephew, then only five years old. Fierce were the contentions which arose respecting the regency; but in the midst of the struggle the young prince was taken ill, and died. The more important question was now to be determined, Who was to wield the sceptre? The

Count of Tripoli, whom Balduin had made regent, aspired to the throne. But Sybilla was too ambitious to resign a prize so nearly within her grasp. Her pretensions to the sovereignty were not disputed, when, advised by the patriarch and the grand-master of the Knights-templars, she proclaimed her intention to separate from her husband Guy de Lusignan, and to choose a warrior for her consort who might be able to defend her kingdom.

The news of this resolution of the queen being speedily circulated through Jerusalem, she ordered the gates to be shut, and proceeded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There, before the sacred tomb, the patriarch, in the name of the clergy and the people, tendered her a solemn oath; and having pronounced the sentence of divorce with a loud voice, commanded her, in the name of heaven, to give her hand and her sceptre to him whom she judged most worthy. At these words, to the astonishment of the assembled multitude, Sybilla placed the crown on the head of her husband, Guy of Lusignan, exclaiming, that man could not separate those whom God had joined. Loud were the reproaches which defeated rivals heaped upon Sybilla and her consort. They had been deprived by her policy, or her cunning, of every hope of succeeding to the throne; and the dissensions which it was now their object to create added every day to the miseries suffered by the unhappy Christians. As in other periods of like calamity, every element seemed to give signs of some approaching judgment. "Impetuous winds," says the old historian,* "tempests, and storms arose from all quarters of the sky. The sun was darkened for several days; and hailstones fell of the size of an egg. The earth itself, shaken by frequent and terrible convulsions, foretold the ruin and destruction which were approaching: the wars and miseries which would shortly ravage the land. The sea even could not be contained within its proper bounds; but, raging and bursting its limits by the fury of its waves, represented the anger of God. Fires were seen in the air, as if a house was burning; and all the elements, and the whole architecture of God seemed to declare their abhorrence of man's impiety, and the ruin which was to come."

Whilst many of the bravest warriors in Palestine, abhorring subjection to a monarch like Guy of Lusignan, were meditating their return to Europe, Raymond hastened to Tiberias, of which he possessed the sovereignty, and there prepared to fortify himself against the expected attack of the King of Jerusalem. Unhappily, he so far forgot his fidelity to the cause of his brethren and his faith, that he invited Saladin to take part with him against the new king. Another chief, Raynald of Chatillon, who possessed the lordship of Kerac, contributed no less to endanger the safety of his people by making hostile excursions into the territory of Saladin, even after a truce had been entered into between Saladin and the King of Jerusalem. The cruelty with which Raynald treated the unoffending merchants and travellers who fell in his way, greatly exasperated Saladin; and he made a solemn vow that, if ever

* Continuation of William of Tyre.

Raynald fell into his power, he would slay him with his own hand.* Soon after this, a party of Saracens, sent by their chief to protect Raymond in Tiberias, were met by a body of about five hundred Templars and Knights of St. John. The battle, which took place on the 1st of May, was fierce and sanguinary. It terminated in the almost total destruction of the brave chevaliers; and the old chroniclers observe, that when the Christians of Nazareth went forth, according to their wont at this season of the year, to gather roses and other flowers in the neighbouring fields, they found nothing but traces of carnage and the dead bodies of their brethren.†

This terrible conflict alarmed Raymond as well as the other Christian chiefs. He saw how destructive it would be to admit Saladin, whether as an enemy or an ally, into the country. Resolving, therefore, to subject his own pride and feelings of private envy to the cause of his faith, he sought and effected a reconciliation with the King of Jerusalem; and the two princes, having embraced each other in the sight of the people in the holy city, swore to combat together for the heritage of Jesus Christ.

A council of chiefs having been held at Jerusalem, it was resolved to assemble an army without delay on the plains of Sephouri. Fifty thousand men were soon collected, and stood ready to be led at any moment against the enemy. But the more prudent of the generals knew the strength of Saladin's army and the ability of its leader. Intelligence was brought that he had besieged and taken Tiberias. Raymond, though he had left his wife and children in the city, still exhorted the king to refrain at present from an engagement. "My desolated country," he said; "my towns burnt to ashes; my people ready to be slaughtered or to be carried into slavery; my wife exposed to the insults of the Mussulmans, all implore your help and mine. But our care ought to be for all the Christian cities left without protection. This army assembled in the plain of Sephouri, is the last hope which remains for the Christians of the East. You here see the last of the soldiers of Jesus Christ; the last of the defenders of Jerusalem. If they perish, the Mussulmans have nothing more to fear. Be cautious, then, how you conduct this multitude of men and horses into a dry and barren district, where the heat of the season, hunger and thirst, will alone be sufficient to deliver them into the hand of the enemy."

Having represented the different character of the two armies, describing that of the Christians as a confused multitude, and that of Saladin as a most powerful and well disciplined host; he exclaimed, "Abandon then Tiberias to the Mussulmans, and let us save an army which may still repair our losses. I swear before God and man, that I would willingly abandon all my dignities and possessions to save the city of Jesus Christ. Our sole object should be to destroy the power of Saladin, and to reserve defenders for the kingdom of Jerusalem."

* Wilken: Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, T. iii. B. iv. c. 5. p. 264.

† Michaud: Histoire des Croisades.

Raymond concluded his address by a simple appeal to the good sense and military experience of his auditors. But the very candour and self-devotion which characterized his conduct provoked suspicion. The Grand-master of the Templars cherished against him an unextinguishable hatred. He had been deprived by the instrumentality of Raymond of the hand of a beautiful and interesting women, to whom he had been early attached. Disappointment had led him to embrace the vows of the Templars; and he had gradually ascended to the highest place in the order. The position which he thus occupied enabled him to avenge his early injury. When the rest of the chiefs left the king's tent he remained behind; and, approaching the monarch, suggested to his already suspicious mind many reasons for questioning the sincerity of Raymond's professions. By degrees, he insinuated that there was every reason to believe him to be a traitor, and that his intentions were to betray the Christian army into the hands of Saladin. Lusignan yielded to the subtle arguments of the Templar. To the astonishment of the various chiefs and nobles who had so lately assented to the wise suggestions of Raymond, they were again summoned to attend the king; and then heard from his own lips, that he had resolved upon immediately proceeding in pursuit of the enemy.

Uncertainty and confusion marked the events of the following day. The chiefs were divided in opinion; and the soldiers themselves seemed impressed with the feeling that they were leaving the plains of Sephouri only to be defeated and slain. Tiberias had already fallen; but it was in the direction of that city that the Christian leaders conducted their host. Having traversed the open country, known in modern times as the plain of Batouf, the Christians saw the standards of the victorious Saladin floating proudly on the distant heights. They now began to form a right estimate of the force of the enemy. But it was too late to retreat. To reach the Lake of Tiberias they must break through the ranks of Saladin's formidable host; to begin a retrograde movement would have been only to invite the foe to a more rapid attack. Saladin at once saw his advantage. The Christians were already fainting with thirst and fatigue. As the evening sun descended, a sultry heat pervaded the atmosphere, which overpowered the bravest of their warriors. To add to their misery, some of Saladin's soldiers set fire to the dry wood and stubble, which were found in large quantities about the spot on which they had encamped. The night was passed amidst almost intolerable suffering; and when the day dawned it was resolved to attack the enemy, and force a passage, if possible, to the banks of the Jordan. Nothing could exceed the impetuosity of the two armies when sufficiently near to make proof of their valour. The Saracens were fighting for an empire; the Christians for God, for the church, and for all that was dear to them either as men or believers. Priests and bishops were among their leaders. The wood of the true cross, it was believed, sanctified their standard; and, if their sins did not prevent the blessing, they might confide in the presence and defence of the Almighty

But whether conscious of unworthiness or bowed down by fatigue, the resolution of the Christians did not avail to support them against the fierce courage of the infidel. The night closed upon the combatants; but the following day the battle was renewed with similar ferocity. When all appeared lost, the King of Jerusalem, who had taken his stand on one of the peaks of Mount Hutin, summoned the foot-soldiers, who were climbing up the hill, to join the knights engaged in defending the holy standard. But they replied, that they could fight no more; that they were dying of heat and thirst. All that could now be done was to defend, as a last duty and effort, the wood of the true cross. The knights were directed by the king to form a sort of camp around it. But this was no sooner done than parties of the Saracens ascended the hill; and the Bishop of Ptolemais, who bore the sacred standard, was shot through with a dart. As he sank bleeding to the earth, he gave the precious relic to the Bishop of Lydda; and a brave attempt was still made to save it from the hands of the enemy. But at length the cry was heard, "Save himself who can! the battle is over!" All was indeed lost; and the bravest and the most timid of those who had ascended the mountain sprung from rock to rock, or threw themselves down the precipice, and forced their way as they best could over the heaps of slain, or through the ranks of the enemy, now weary with slaughter.

Among those who surrendered themselves, as seeing no hope of escape, were the King of Jerusalem; the Bishop of Lydda; Raynald of Chatillon, the breaker of the truce; the Master of the Templars; and many of the knights both of that order and of that of St. John. Count Raymond was among those who escaped. He fled to Tripoli; but died soon after of despair, produced, it was suspected, by the reproaches which he heaped upon himself for the part which he had first taken, when entering into a league with Saladin.

The conqueror ordered his tent to be raised on the field of battle. Guy of Lusignan, and the other illustrous captives, were brought into his presence. Their appearance proved how much they had suffered. Moved with generous pity, he directed his attendants to prepare a beverage cooled with snow. When the unfortunate King of Jerusalem had partaken of the refreshing cup he handed it to Raynald of Chatillon, who stood near him. On seeing this, Saladin directed his interpreter to say to the king, "It is you, not I, who give him drink; for I will have no communion with this wretch."

Saladin by speaking thus gave a terrible intimation of the fate which Raynald might expect. Ancient custom prohibited the Arabians from ever doing aught against one to whom they had given meat or drink; and the refusal of such refreshment to a stranger was equivalent to a declaration of intended revenge.* To indicate his design still more clearly, Saladin, on directing his attendants to prepare a repast for the other captives, pointedly excluded Raynald from the proffered hospitality.

* Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. B. iv. K. v. p. 289.

After due time had been given for the refreshment of the unfortunate king, and his fellow-prisoners, they were recalled into the presence of their conqueror. Saladin bent his eye sternly on Raynald, and reminded him of the cruelties and insults which he had perpetrated against so many unoffending Mussulmans; of the injustice of which he had been guilty in breaking the truce; and of his fierce enmity to the Mahometan name and religion. He then commanded him to retract his injurious language and give honour to the prophet.

As in other instances of such men, the darkest features of Raynald's character derived a degree of lustre from his fidelity, as a knight and a warrior, to the Christian cause. To the menacing looks of Saladin he returned others as haughty; and declared with a firm voice, that no fear of death should ever induce him to prove unfaithful to the religion of Christ. Saladin, on hearing him thus speak, rose from his seat, and drawing his scimitar struck a blow at Raynald, which cut through his shoulder-blade. The attendants seeing their master's intention, immediately rushed upon the wounded count, and felled him lifeless to the earth.

Guy de Lusignan and his companions trembled as they beheld the fate of Raynald. They cherished but little hope of escaping a similar death. Saladin saw the expression of terror on their countenances; and with the generous spirit by which he was animated, when his own sense of right and wrong was not outraged, he immediately reassured them, and especially declared to the King of Jerusalem, that it was contrary to the laws of the Mussulmans for one king to slay another.

But the next day, the Knights Templars and Hospitallers who had been made prisoners, were brought before him, as he sat surrounded by his counsellors, priests, and doctors of the law.* Pointing to the captives, he told his great men that he gave to each of them the privilege of slaying one of the prisoners. Several of the courtiers shrunk from the idea of taking part in such a slaughter. But the rest shared with their master in his hatred to the name of these orders of Christian chivalry. As the unfortunate knights were heavily chained they were slaughtered without difficulty. A fervent enthusiasm animated them to the last. They viewed themselves as martyrs; and many prisoners were present who, deeply affected by their heroism and devotion, proclaimed that they were Templars or Hospitallers for the mere purpose of dying with them. Such were the immediate results of the battle fought on the heights of Hutin. Others still more important followed; but the account of which we reserve to a future chapter.

Hasselquist† describes the country from Nazareth to Mount Tabor, as a noble, picturesque, and finely wooded region. After a journey of about two hours he came to the foot of the mountain, in the ascent of which he was refreshed by the agreeable dews which were falling, and by the milk of its fine herds of goats. He considered the path leading to the summit to be a league in length.

* Michaud Hist. des Crusades: Wilken.

† A celebrated Swedish traveller, who lived in the middle of the eighteenth century. His notes were edited by Linnæus, such was their value in the eyes of that distinguished naturalist.

It was stony and difficult; but on reaching the summit he found a beautiful and fertile plain, on the rocky sides of which were to be seen the ruins of a church, formerly frequented by Christian pilgrims.

Mount Tabor is described as almost insulated, and overtops all the neighbouring summits. On the south and west extends the plain of Esdraelon. To the south of this plain rise the mountains of Nablous, and to the north those of Nazareth. The shape of Mount Tabor is that of a truncated cone; its sides being covered to the very summit with a forest of oak and wild pistachio-trees. We found, says Burckhardt,* a single family living on the top of the mountain. They were refugees from the village of Ezra, where he had known them in 1810. Having fled from their former residence to avoid paying taxes, they had settled in this remote spot, where they hoped to remain entirely unnoticed. The rent which they paid to the Sheikh of Dahoury, to which village the mountain belongs, was fifty piastres per annum. Such was their success, that the harvest which they were then gathering in was worth twelve hundred piastres; nor had they hitherto been disturbed by tax-gatherers; which, however, observes Burckhardt, would certainly not be the case should they remain there another year.

The remains of a large fortress are found on the top of the mountain; and a strong wall may still be traced surrounding the summit, and running close to the edge of the precipice. A lofty arched gate, called the Gate of the Winds, and which is supposed to have been the principal entrance, is also shown. Nor is this the only ruin on the top of the mountain. The area is said to be covered with the remains of what are supposed to have been private dwellings; but which were built of stone with great solidity.

Mount Tabor is a vast limestone rock. Wild bears and ounces abound in the woods which cover its sides. Till mid-day heavy clouds surround its summit; and they are only dispersed by the strong winds which career wildly about its top.

D'Arvieux describes Tabor in similar terms; adding that Helena, the mother of Constantine, built a church on the height of this mountain, in memory of our Lord's transfiguration. The edifice thus raised having fallen into decay, was replaced by another, built in the middle ages. This, he says, has three little chapels close to each other, being in a sort of grotto or cave, but encumbered with ruins. Having caused the entrance to be cleared by some Arabs in attendance, he entered a narrow passage, which led into a little vestibule, consisting of four arcades crossing each other. According to tradition, that in front of the entrance was the spot on which our Lord stood, and was called his tabernacle; the other two were called the tabernacles of Moses and Elias. Each little chapel had its altar; and many were the pilgrims who sought, in early times, that solemn retreat from the toil and con-

* Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 333.

fusion of the world, to meditate on the sublime mysteries involved in our Lord's transfiguration.

Some learned men have doubted whether Tabor ought to be regarded as the scene of that event. No mention of this mountain occurs either in the Gospels or in the writings of the primitive fathers. But it was currently believed to be the mount of transfiguration as early as the fourth century; and it continued to be so regarded with little variety of testimony. One of the old Itineraries speaks of the Mount of Olives as the scene of the transfiguration; but no credit appears to be given to this opinion, and it would now be difficult to disassociate from the name of Mount Tabor the grand ideas connected with the event of which we are speaking.*

From the summit of Mount Tabor the eye ranges over a vast and noble extent of country. To the north lies the Mediterranean, its soft, blue waters presenting a strange contrast to the rude rocks and woods of the neighbouring shores. The noble plain of Esdraelon extends from the west to the south, on which side it is bordered by the hills of Hermon, the sweet dews of which were regarded of old as a fitting emblem of holy concord and unity: "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments; as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore."† On the same side ran the several little streams which, united, form the river Kishon. The ancient towns of Nain and Endor were situated in the same direction; while to the east extend the mountains of Gilboa, so celebrated in ancient writ: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew; neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings: for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil."‡ On the north-east is the Lake of Tiberias, with its now almost deserted, but once peopled and busy shores. Other spots are visible from the top of the mountain, supposed to be those on which great events occurred, or on which great truths were spoken.

Of the places thus visible from Tabor, there are two which cannot be mentioned without exciting the mind to earnest and interesting reflection. Endor and Nain, or the spots on which they stood, are both seen from the summit of Tabor; and though now but insignificant villages, if they even deserve that name, they have still the immortality which history and tradition can so richly bestow. Little is recorded

* Dr. Robinson (Travels in Palestine, vol. iii. sec. xiv. p. 221) displays his usual learning and ability in his description of Mount Tabor. He speaks strongly against the identity of this mountain with that on which our Lord was transfigured. The only very important circumstance, however, in support of his argument is, that long before and after the period of the transfiguration, a fortified city surmounted the top of Tabor. But even to this it would not be difficult to suggest an answer.

† Psalm cxxxiii. ‡ 2 Sam. i. 21.

of either place; but that little is intimately associated with a wonderful class of events. The most indolent imagination is excited at the awful and stirring account which is given of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor. How dreadful was the state of the forlorn king! His spirit broken; his soul agitated by a host of distracting passions! He dare not go to the holy of holies to seek counsel of God; and yet he was burning with anxiety to know the future. In the darkness of night, concealed and trembling, he pursued the solitary path which led to the witch's dwelling. The very purpose which he had in view was enough to overpower a stronger spirit than his, bowed down as he then was with a thousand cares and indefinite apprehensions. Awfully true was it in his case that, "coming events cast their shadows before." The gloom of the night foretold the storms of the morrow. Fantastic shapes flitted to and fro among the beetling precipices. A voice was heard like that of the prophet in after times, "Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared; he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it."* As the despairing monarch wended his way through the valley, every step he set seemed to separate him so much further from his God. He was about to perform an act prohibited by the divine law; one which only dark and estranged spirits could meditate upon without overwhelming terror. The existence of some strange and awful relation between the perverted human soul and the powers of darkness, is solemnly recognized in the enactions of the old law: "Regard not them that have familiar spirits."† "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer."‡

Deeply impressed as these commandments, and their attendant associations, were on the mind of the unhappy king, he could not but feel that every circumstance of the night, every feature of the wild scenery around him, had some connexion with his own unholy purpose. He felt that futurity had nothing in store for him but humiliation and anguish; yet he would force it to reveal the worst. Faith, reason, the teachings of experience, the warnings of conscience, all yielded to the stormy influences of a vague terror. In days now gone for ever, this fallen monarch had been permitted to feel the raptures of inspiration; had caught a glimpse of the sublime future as its ample volume lay partially unrolled before the sons of the prophets. How large a price would he have paid to recover the blessings of his youth! to experience again, even in the slightest degree, the splendid triumph of the soul, led by the Divine Spirit to contemplate the plans of Providence! But instead of this, he was now to consort with the children of darkness, with phantoms of the nether world; to force utterance from the dead; to make the prince of the powers of the air tell him what God saw good to hide.

* Isaiah xxx. 33. † Leviticus xxx. 31. ‡ Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

Endor lay about four miles from Mount Tabor, at the head of a spring of waters running along the whole length of the neighbouring valley. It never appears to have been a place of much importance; and its situation in this wild, mountainous, district was well calculated to foster the dark superstitions on which the gloomy spirit of witchcraft loved to brood.

Tradition affords us no clue to the character or history of the woman whose abode the King of Israel was seeking. It may be fairly supposed, from the reputation which she enjoyed as holding communion with the unseen world, that she was no ordinary person. Whatever the degree of guilt attending the practices to which she was devoted, her state was that of one strangely elevated above the mass of her fellow-beings by unearthly knowledge. The imagination easily traces out the circumstances which mainly contributed to her attempting the perilous paths of forbidden inquiry. Some bewildering passion of early youth; some long-cherished, and then thwarted hope perverted and broke her heart. To find her way out of the labyrinths of despair, she could no longer ask for light from heaven—she had fallen too low for that. But there was still too much of life in her spirit to let it sink into mere earthliness. Where then was she to seek for companionship but among those awful beings of whom she had heard when conversing with the ancient people of her village, and to whom the power was traditionally ascribed of revealing the secrets of the future, working the weal or woe of all who had not the shield of the divine blessing?

Terrible must have been the agony of thought with which she first ventured upon the forbidden path; terrible the sensations accompanying the first whispered incantation. When Saul sought her abode she had long been familiar with the fearful life which a human soul must lead when in supposed communion with death and darkness. Deceived herself, and deceiving others, she lived in a state of mingled terror and expectation; dreaming of strange things to be, at length, perhaps, accomplished; trembling at the wrath of Heaven; exulting in a feeling of power; delighting in the scorn, so amply satisfied by the dread with which she could inspire her trembling visitors. Her fame, spread in mysterious whispers through the country, appears to have been at its height when the wretched King of Israel stole, under the shadow of night, to her obscure dwelling. There were, no doubt, many pretenders to the arts which she practised. But it was she, the witch of Endor, who had inspired the hearts of the king's warlike attendants with the conviction that a woman might control the inhabitants of other worlds; might force from their lips the secrets of futurity, and render them subservient to human purposes. Endor, but for her, would have been, ages back, a forgotten place. But for her it would never have been named in history, or attracted the steps of the meanest of the captains in the hosts of Saul. But here was the monarch himself at her door. Such was the confidence in her power which prevailed among his people, that those who stood nearest his person could venture to promise that his burning, torturing desire to know the future should be satisfied by her revelations. The necessity of disguise;

the sacrifice of dignity; the toils and perils of the night-journey among the mountains, all tend to prove that the value set upon the supernatural ability of the witch of Endor was of no ordinary kind.

Gloomy were the shadows which hung over the path of the monarch as he sought the witch's house. But they were deeper and heavier on his return. The darkness of an inevitable doom surrounded him. Terrible as the voice of Samuel sounded when he first pronounced the sentence of God's anger upon him, none of the feelings which it then excited could be compared with those which it now awakened. When the king and his awe-struck attendants began to retrace their way to the royal camp, the first faint glimmering of the dawn might probably be already seen on the tops of the mountains. And as the light increased, darker and darker grew the spirit of the wretched Saul. The day that was breaking upon the world was to be the last for him and his sons. But the terror which would have overwhelmed his soul soon gave way to fiercer passions. The enemy was crowding the heights and valleys. Wild shouts, the hoarse braying of the trumpets, filled the air. The soul of the king rose at the summons. He forgot, for the time, the terrors of the night, the voice of the prophet. Borne by the stream of battle, he thought not whither it was carrying him, till, like a broken, stranded vessel, he lay helplessly waiting the returning surge to bury him in the deep.

Very different are the associations connected with the neighbouring village of Nain. But how many feelings of tender and pious gratitude are awakened in the heart by the mention of its name! Had the benevolent Jesus wrought no other miracle than that which he performed at the gate of this little city, it would have been sufficient to convince thoughtful and susceptible souls that he was entitled to their profoundest homage. The saddest of all mourners, the widowed mother of an only son, was passing under the gate of the city as he was about to enter it. Many of the inhabitants accompanied her. There is a dignity and a power in sorrow which both attract and subdue the most ordinary minds. No human grief, except in strange, mysterious combinations with the future and the unearthly, could exceed hers, if measured according to its circumstances. All the dear ties of home, all early associations and affections were still entire while the only son was still spared to her. He was the living centre of her thoughts. For him alone she cared to remain in this world. From him alone she learnt that there was still something to be hoped for in the patient struggles, the mingled joys and sorrows, of the present life.

But on some sad day the hectic flush was seen on his cheek. Was it the sudden glow of deeper health? Was it the passing light of a noble, exciting thought? Was it the sign that some recollected folly was paining the heart? Alas! it was the warning that death stood nigh at hand, with an awful and kingly beauty on his brow, ready to summon another bright attendant to his courts. The instinct of the mother's fear was nobly met by the antagonist instinct of filial love. "I shall not

die, but live!" was the answer to all her painfully uttered apprehensions. And love in this, as in all other instances, both knew more, and was more powerful, than fear. The son had a feeling of the might and of the goodness of the Son of God in his heart. He could not express, he could not describe, his belief; but he knew that he should not be left under the power of death. Whether that recovery was to be at the last day; whether there was some wonderful intermediate stage in the journey from this world to the higher and nobler abode of spirits; or that he was to be brought back when midway on his journey to eternity, by some arm mightier than that of death, —how he was still to be preserved within the sphere of human hearts and sympathies, it was not for him to tell. But his thoughts were ever arranging themselves into glorious confessions; his feelings and aspirations found their utterance in the one fervent sentiment so often uttered to his broken-hearted mother, "I know that my Redeemer liveth!"

"Though the inward man decayeth, the outward man is renewed day by day." How often has this sublime saying of the apostle been visibly fulfilled! Was it not so in the widow's son? Did she not see and feel that, while his frame was momentarily yielding to the invasion of disease, there was a fountain of health, a power of inapproachable life, which, in the words of the poet,

"Gave forth new light through chinks which time had made."

But the hour of his departure was full of sadness to the mother, though of triumph to the son. His lips were mute, her heart had no voice. The cold form lay before her; it had lost the traces which had given, even to sickness, a kind and familiar look. So altogether earthly as it was, it now wanted the common familiarity of earthliness. The only thought that kept its distinct and constant place in her mind was, that it would not take her long to finish her work and die. But, cold and motionless as was the form which lay before her, it became every moment more precious to her heart. Hour after hour it seemed as if life were ready to return to it. Could time be given, this feeling would, in most cases, so grow, that the longings of affection would create hope, and the sweet delusion would overcome the darker anguish of grief. But this is not allowed. The widow's son was laid on the bier, and carried forth. Grief had now no support but that which it could derive from trust in divine mysteries, from its grand belief in the sovereign power of eternal love. And it was, perhaps, just as the mother's heart had triumphed over its natural despair, just as it was performing within its own troubled recesses the great act of faith and homage, that the Saviour stood before her, ready to accomplish for her at once, as in a higher degree he will accomplish for all believers by and bye, the promise which love had taught her,—the profound lesson of trust and devotion, which the sanctified soul at its departure would so fain impress upon the feelings of sorrowing affection "And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he came and touched the bier, and they that bare him stood still. And

he said, Young man, I say unto thee, arise! And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak; and he delivered him to his mother."*

The little town of Nain, at the gate of which this beautiful incident occurred, was situated, according to ancient authority, in the neighbourhood of Endor and Scythopolis. It is supposed from its name, which signifies what is pleasant or comely, to have been distinguished for its rural beauty and prosperity. At present it scarcely pretends to the rank of a village. Even the most curious traveller hardly cares to turn from the beaten path to look at the spot where the widow's son was restored to his broken-hearted mother by the saving power of Christ. Bouchard, as quoted by Lightfoot, says,† "Two leagues from Nazareth, not much above one from Mount Tabor, southward, is Mount Hebron the less, on the north side of which is the city of Nain." Lightfoot himself says that he was very much inclined to believe that Nain is the same place as that mentioned under the name of Enganium in the book of Joshua.‡ He founds this opinion on the similar signification of the names; Nain meaning *pleasantness*, and Enganium, *a fountain and gardens*. "Enganium," he adds, "lies directly in the way, going from Galilee to Jerusalem; and so, as is very evident, did our Nain." Of this place our countryman Biddulph says, "A town, commonly called Senine—of old, Garganium; exceedingly pleasant, abounding with waters and gardens, and delightsome walks."

It is hardly possible for the liveliest imagination to realize the past loveliness and happy population of those abodes of pleasantness—of those villages of fountains and gardens. Melancholy as are the reflections which arise at the contemplation of majestic cities laid in ruins by time, by wars or revolutions, a still sadder feeling possesses the earnest mind when the eye rests upon a deserted rural district; upon populous villages now wasted into insignificance, but which once imbibed from the full fountains of the land rich and blessed fruitfulness, a life radiant of its benign original. There is so much of human policy, of the pride and the selfishness of man, in the mightier marts of society, that when they fall into decay we easily suppress the rising sigh by reflecting, that out of the ruins of this or that city, or empire, the materials have been provided for the foundation of others. Those which have fallen were raised by the changing currents of human fortune. Their fall was to be looked for according to the common course of worldly events. Humanity, if it has lost on the one side, has gained on the other. But this is not the case where a country has become desolate in its once happy, fertile, agricultural districts. Rome, Athens, Jerusalem itself, do not so completely prove the ruined glory of their respective states as the misery, depopulation, and barrenness of their neighbouring villages. While the courage, industry, and strength of the people remain; while the blessing from above is continued to their labour, and to the land which they till, fields and hamlets will defy the revolutions which overthrow cities. When they cease, the

* Luke vii. 13—15. † Works, Vol X. Chorographical Notes, sec. 2, 3. ‡ Ch. xix. 21; xxi. 29.

awful indication is given that the stream of heavenly love is turned into another direction; that the mighty, ever active blessing which had such power to cover the land with plenty, and to fill men's hearts with joy and gladness, has ceased to operate; and that it is not the mere revolution of states which has changed the appearance of the country, but the mysterious operation of divine counsels.

The approach to Tiberias furnishes numberless points of view from which the traveller may delight himself with contemplating scenes of the noblest character. Presenting every variety of mountain and valley, of broad glades and beetling precipices, lies the outstretched plain, while the city afar off still seems lapped in its ancient security and strength.

"After ascending slowly for about two hours," says a late traveller; "we reached the summit of this slope, and came suddenly in sight of the lake and town of Tiberias. We found ourselves again on the brow of a steep hill, facing to the eastward, and forming the western boundary of the hollow in which the lake is contained. The view from hence is grand and interesting. To the south, inclining easterly, the vale of the Jordan was distinctly open: to the south-west, the rounded top of Tabor rose above the intervening hills; to the north, the lofty Libanus rears its snow-clad head; while the bare and yellow mountains of the eastern shore served but to give a brighter blue to the scarcely ruffled waters of the lake below. The town from hence has a more completely Moorish appearance, from its high walls and circular towers, than any other I had yet seen in Palestine. The waters, on whose western edge it stands, were as still as those of the Dead Sea, from being confined in a deep basin, and hemmed closely in by opposite ranges of hills. The scenery around possessed many features of grandeur, though destitute of wood and verdure."*

The whole plain of Esdraelon abounds in signs of the ancient importance of the district. Here the labours of the peasant were most richly rewarded; here the devout child of God, the inspired prophet might find the securest solitude; and here the warrior might exercise most effectually his skill in the secret ambush, or the open conflict. Travellers have wandered with curious steps from one border of the plain to the other, and every hill and rock, and retired valley has afforded some new occasion for the exercise of ingenious inquiry. The sublime forms of Tabor and Hermon, rising majestically above the surrounding scenes, fill the mind with solemn thoughts; and as it contemplates their mysterious heights, enveloped in clouds and darkness, the visions of hoar antiquity pass before it, and it feels as if the rugged crags and precipices were intended to represent, like the symbolic ornaments of the temple, the presence or power of Deity.

The plain of Esdraelon, viewed in its full extent, is above thirty miles long, from east to west, and eighteen broad, from north to south. Remarkable as it has always

* Buckingham's Palestine, p. 453.

been for fertility, it owes none of its beauty or grandeur to forest scenery. The level champaign, and the deep winding valley, are alike without trees. It may be questioned by the curious inquirer, whether this is to be attributed to the nature of the soil, or to the persevering industry of the husbandmen inhabiting this portion of the country. But the interest attached to spots formerly the sites of populous cities, to districts once famous for the wealth and prowess of their inhabitants, is strongly excited by the traditionary accounts of this beautiful plain. In the first ages of Jewish history, during the most eventful period of the Roman empire, at the time of the crusades, and even in our own days, it has successively witnessed many a conflict determining the fate of kings and their people. "Here it was," says Dr. Clarke, "that Barak, descending with his ten thousand from Mount Tabor, discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, 'even nine hundred chariots of iron,' and all the people that were with him, gathered as they had been, 'from Harosheth of the Gentiles unto the river Kishon.' Here it was that all that mighty host 'fell upon the edge of the sword, so that there was not a man left;' when the kings came and fought, the kings of Canaan in Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo. And here it was that Josiah, King of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho, King of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist. The great mourning in Jerusalem foretold by Zechariah, is said to be as the lamentations in the plain of Esdraelon, or, according to the language of the prophet, 'as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.'"* "It has been," says the same writer, "a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country from the days of Nabuchodonosor, King of the Assyrians, (in the history of whose war with Arphaxad, it is mentioned as *the great plain of Esdraelon*,) until the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian crusaders, and Anti-Christian Frenchmen; Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs; warriors out of every nation which is under heaven, have pitched their tents upon the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Tabor and Hermon."†

Another traveller, alluding to the numerous conflicts of which the plain of Esdraelon has been the scene, says, "At present there is peace, but not that most visible evidence of enduring peace, a thriving population. We counted in our road across the plain only five very small villages, consisting of wretched mud-hovels, chiefly in ruins, and very few persons moving on the road. We might again truly apply to this scene the words of Deborah: 'The highways were unoccupied: the inhabitants of the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel.'"

The village of Genuyn, or Jenin, according to the same traveller, is situated at the entrance of one of the numerous vales which lead out of the plain of Esdraelon to the mountainous regions of Ephrata. "One of the passages would be the valley

* Zechariah, xii. 11. † Travels, vol. iv. 255.

of Jezreel; and from the window of the khan where we are lodging we have a clear view of the tract over which the prophet Elijah must have passed, when he girded up his loins and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel. But in the present day, no chariots of Ahab or of Sisera are to be seen, not even a single wheel-carriage of any description whatever. The public wells by the road-side have no pulleys or wheels to assist in drawing water; for who would expose for public use, what his neighbour would not have the least scruple in secretly stealing away? The roads among the mountains are, indeed, so neglected, such mere single foot-paths, that it is difficult to imagine in what way chariots could now convey the traveller to Jerusalem, or over the chief part of the Holy Land."*

Jenin is described by another traveller as presenting at a distance the appearance of a handsome city, but as being in reality full of wretchedness, possessing only some relics of its former splendour, as ruined mosques, broken fountains, and mutilated pillars, signs of the melancholy contrast between its past and present state.

This once celebrated city was, say some, the ancient Jezreel. Here Ahab had his palace, and the luxurious gardens, the beauty and extent of which in vain solicited his admiration so long as they were skirted by the vineyard of Naboth. Never did divine justice more signally pursue iniquity than in the case of the folly-besotted Ahab and the wretched Jezebel. The fate of both husband and wife was awfully associated with the locality of Esdraelon: "In the place," said Elijah to Ahab, "where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." ‡ And of Jezebel also spoke the Lord, saying, "The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel." § And then the startling particularity, the fearful distinctness of the following prophecy!—"Him that dieth of Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat; and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat." ‖

In the time of Eusebius and Jerome, Jezreel was a place of considerable importance: they describe it as lying between Scythopolis or Bethshan, and the town called Legeon. Eusebius speaks of it under the Greek name of Esdraela; whence the appellation of the surrounding plain, Mention is made in the book of Judges ¶ of the *valley of Jezreel*. This was either some narrow pass among the hills between Hermon and Gilboa; or only a particular division of the plain itself, plain and valley being spoken of in scriptural language without distinction. In the following chapter the well of Harod is mentioned; and this, it is supposed, might be *the fountain which is in Jezreel*, near which the Israelites encamped in their war with the Philistines, just before the death of Saul. **

* Jowett's Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 191.
† Jolliffe, Letters from Palestine, p. 43.
‡ 1 Kings, xxi. 19.
§ 1 Kings, xxi. 23.
‖ 1 Kings, xxi. 24.
¶ Chap. vi. 33
** 1 Sam. xxix. 1.

But while Jenin has been confidently spoken of by travellers as the ancient Jezreel; others, with greater probability, find the site of that city in the present village of Zer' în. Dr. Robinson has examined the subject with his usual patience and ingenuity, and determines in favour of the latter. Having left Jenin at $4\frac{3}{4}$, he set out with his companions, to traverse the plain in the direction of Zer' în. "We crossed," he says, "the arm or offset of the plain, which here extends up S.E., and found all the water-courses, though now dry, running off westward, as do those also from the southern hills; all going to swell, in the rainy season, that ancient river, the river Kishon, as it flows towards the Mediterranean. In the plain are occasionally low ridges and swells. Perched high on the summit of one of the naked peaks of Gilboa, the village Wezar was a conspicuous object, and apparently had been once a fortress."

In less than an hour the party reached a village called Arâneh, and the broad western end of Gilboa. Thence the path led over occasional slight spurs or roots of the mountain, stretching down still further westwards. From these points, the travellers had extensive views of all the extent of the great plain, spread out to the left, and of the long blue ridge of Carmel beyond. The prospect was charming for its rich fertility and beauty. Yellow fields of grain, with green patches of cotton and millet interspersed, checkered the landscape like a carpet. The plain itself, it is said, was almost without villages, but several might be seen on the slope of Carmel, and on the hills further to the left.

At seven o'clock the travellers reached Zer' în. "Thus far," says Dr. Robinson, "we had been travelling over the plain, which here might be called undulating; in consequence of the slight spurs and swells above described. Further west it seemed perfectly level, with a general declivity towards the Mediterranean, to which its waters flow off. As we approached Zer' în, there was only a very gentle rise of the surface, like another low swell, and it was, therefore, quite unexpected to us, on reaching that village, to find it standing upon the brow of a very steep rocky descent, of one hundred feet or more, towards the N.E. where the land sinks off at once into a great fertile valley, running down E.S.E. along the northern wall of the mountains of Gilboa. This valley is itself a broad deep plain; its water-bed runs along under the rocky declivity on the right, and then under Gilboa; while on the other, or north-eastern side, the ground slopes gradually upwards to the base of the 'little Hermon.'"

Not a glimpse of Tabor can be caught from this part of the plain, enclosed as it is between the ranges of Gilboa and the little Hermon. Here, however, the acropolis of Beisân was distinctly visible. The ruins of other towns or villages might also be seen on the heights; and from the direction of the water-courses, the travellers were enabled to describe the country before them, as "a second arm, or branch of the great plain of Esdraelon, running down eastward, between the two

parallel ridges of mountains, quite to the Jordan; thus regularly connecting the valley of the latter with the great plain above, and further west, without any steep ascent or pass."

Pursuing his observations, Dr. Robinson adds, "In the valley directly under Zer' în is a considerable fountain; and twenty minutes further east, another larger one, under the northern side of Gilboa, called Ain Jâlûd. Zer' în itself thus lies comparatively high, and commands a wide and noble view; extending down the broad low valley on the east to Beisân, and to the mountains of Ajlun beyond the Jordan; while towards the west it includes the whole great plain, quite to the long ridge of Carmel. It is a most magnificent site for a city, which being itself thus a conspicuous object in every part, would naturally give its name to the whole region. There could, therefore, be little question, that in and around Zer' în, we had before us the city, the plain, the valley, and the fountain of the ancient Jezreel."*

Several ancient authors appear to have regarded Zer' în as occupying the position of the favourite residence of Ahab. At present, like the other village which shares the traditional honour of being the ancient Jezreel, it contains scarcely a remote trace of former splendour. Its few inhabitants are poorly lodged, and can apparently give little account of the ruins which here and there strew the path. A dilapidated tower of some height rises from the midst of the place, but is probably of no very ancient origin. The same may be said of a sculptured sarcophagus, lying neglected at the entrance of the village, and of some other relics of a similar character.

Mr. Bartlett gives a very interesting account of an encampment of Arabs, with which he met in his journey from Nazareth to Tiberias. "I left," he says, "the village of Deburieh, at day-break—winding through the oak glades which form so beautiful a cincture to the solitary cone of Tabor; the long waving grass which fills up the intervals of the scattered forest-trees was heavy with dew, and their branches sometimes nearly met over our heads. Though these are generally inferior in size to the oaks of our own island, they were yet of sufficient growth to be highly picturesque. As we passed in silence among them, we discerned on the bare topmost boughs of one of the largest a group of eagles; the guns of my company were raised in a moment, but I would not suffer them to disturb these solitary tenants of the forest; they were startled, however, by the noise of our passage, and, spreading their broad wings, mounted slowly and majestically towards the upper region of the mountain. Not long after we came unexpectedly upon an open grassy area, on the left of the path, surrounded by higher slopes, dotted with groups of trees, and presenting with singular exactness the appearance of an undulating English park, in the midst of which were spread out the black tents of an encampment of Bedouins. I was so struck with the picturesque beauty of this sudden apparition, that without a word I turned off the path, and made straight for the tents; when, turning my head, I perceived my

* Biblical Researches, vol. iii. p. 160.

servant, Mukareh, and the brace of escorts I had picked up at Nazareth, following after with ill-disguised uneasiness.

"The taste of Forest Gilpin or Uvedale Price could not have suggested a happier or more picturesque position than these Arabs had chosen for their temporary resting-place. The tents of the chief and his family were pitched upon a grassy ridge, gently elevated above the rest, and sheltered by some dense and wide-spreading oaks.* The tents are composed of a strong coarse stuff, like sacking, woven in a broad mass of *black* relieved by a white line; and in general appearance there is little doubt they correspond with those of the earliest times. Such might have been the tent of Abraham beneath the terebinth-tree. And the figures who gathered around us were truly patriarchal in aspect; an old man, whose venerable face, with long white beard, was of calm and benevolent expression, clothed in the broad and simple folds of his striped robe, and resting, like Jacob, on the top of his staff, surveyed us with quiet curiosity. Several others, dark in hue almost to blackness, were couched upon the ground, and regarded us from time to time from beneath the shade of their brilliant head-dresses of striped and gilt handkerchiefs, with a less pleasing expression. They might well have personified the turbulent sons of the Patriarch. We liked not the unquiet and sinister roving of their keen black eyes. In the meantime my servant and escort were by no means at their ease; and, in reply to the curious inquiries of the Arabs, gave them to understand that I was a Consulo Inglese, about to join the Pasha of Acre at his neighbouring encampment. This salutary fiction, borne out by the unusual state in which I happened to be travelling, repressed any disposition to take advantage of us. They rose and crowded round my sketch, laughing with childish delight as I transferred rapidly to my paper some traits of their primitive appearance. Their women, peeping from the tents, displayed harsh and bold faces, with the wild black eye and cunning expression of the gipsy; they were clothed in loose dresses of blue serge, gathered round the waist, and their 'posé' was noble and sculpturesque. Flocks of sheep and goats were grouped around, and horses picketed by the tent sides. All this in the heart of the forest, with the towering and woody crest of Tabor above, constituted a scene of unusual interest and beauty.

"The impatience of my companions hurried me away; they retreated slowly and without any appearance of alarm, but no sooner were we out of sight than they quickened their paces to a gallop, assuring me that this was the very worst of those half-shepherd, half-robber tribes belonging to the wild mountains beyond the Jordan, who rove with their flocks about the luxuriant pasturages of this district, and who would certainly have laid us under contribution but for the near presence of the Pasha and his troops.

"I was glad, notwithstanding, to have had an opportunity of witnessing a scene

* See View.

which brought to my mind the exquisite lines of Thomson, in which, with such singular felicity,

> 'depicted was the patriarchal age,
> What time Dan Abraham left the Chaldee land,
> And pastured on from verdant stage to stage,
> Where field and fountains fresh could best engage
> Toil was not then. Of nothing took they heed;
> But with wild beasts the sylvan war to wage,
> And o'er vast plains their herds and flocks to feed.'

"Apart from their predatory propensities, which, however, were those of their contemporary tribes, such must have been indeed the pastoral life, wandering habits, and very appearance of the venerable names of Jewish history. In the character of these tribes themselves, there is often a marked difference, notwithstanding their common descent; some being, from local or accidental circumstances, more noble and less treacherous than others; but, in general, their presence west of the Jordan adds to the insecurity of the quiet cultivator of the soil—who, at present placed between two evils, equally dreads the exactions of the Sultan's agents and the lawless and unchecked depredation of these roving plunderers. Thus the land mourns and languishes, and its finest portions are often left to the wild luxuriance of nature."

Nothing of particular interest exists to attract the notice of the traveller, after leaving the locality above described, till he approaches Tiberias. Pococke speaks of a ruined city which he passed on the road, and believed to be the ancient Bethsaida of Galilee. This notion, however, appears to have been adopted too hastily by that learned traveller. The remains of the city of Arbela are found near the spot alluded to by Pococke, and it is supposed that the place now called Irbid, is the same as that spoken of by Josephus under the appellation of Arbela. In the immediate vicinity of the ancient city, on the beetling brow of the precipice, may still be seen the ruins of a fortress, which from its situation must originally have been a place of considerable strength. Burckhardt,* in describing the mountainous character of the district, states that there are many natural caverns in the limestone rocks, which have been united together by passages cut in the hill, and so enlarged as to render them habitable. The natural openings have been defended by walls built across them, and thus, no entrance could be effected, except through the narrow communicating passages; while small bastions were constructed wherever the almost perpendicular cliff permitted it, to defend the approach to the castle, which seems to have been rendered as nearly as possible impregnable. The huge overhanging rock forms its protection above; and the access below is by a narrow path, so steep as not to allow of a horse mounting it. In the

* Travels, p. 331.

midst of the caverns are several deep cisterns; and it is calculated that the fortress was capable of containing about six hundred men.

At the period when Galilee was exposed to so large a share of the troubles which afflicted the country in general, the wild mountains of this district were the secure resort of those well-organized troops of robbers which for a time defied all the powers of the enfeebled state. Herod, in the early years of his reign, directed his attention to the dangerous strength of the rocky fastnesses about Arbela. By the vigorous measures which he took, the robbers were at length dislodged; and the castle on the dizzy brink of the precipice described by Burckhardt became a place of great security and importance. Of the ancient military value of this place, or others in its immediate neighbourhood, some indication is supposed to exist in the following denunciation of the prophet: "Ye have plowed wickedness; ye have reaped iniquity; ye have eaten the fruit of lies; because thou didst trust in thy way, in the multitude of thy mighty men. Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people, and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled *Beth-Arbel* in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children."*

The accounts which Josephus gives of the taking of these rocks about Arbela, defended as they were by vast bands of robbers, afford a terrible picture of the fierce spirit of the times. Herod, after an obstinate conflict, in which his troops were at first defeated, succeeded in driving the main body of the robbers beyond the river Jordan. A sufficient number, however, still remained to defend the caverns. Their position enabled them to defy an army. It was impossible to attack them effectually from the valley. But the soldiers of Herod, enraged at their first defeat, resolved, at whatever cost, to make themselves masters of the rocks, and their daring inhabitants. Finding how vain it would be to attempt to approach the entrance from below, several huge boxes were fastened to chains, and the boldest and strongest of the besieging party getting into them were let down the side of the cliff, till they were opposite the entrances of the caverns. The struggle was a terrible one. Overpowered, at length, by the repeated attacks of fresh assailants, the robbers shrunk, fainting and terrified, to the remotest corners of the caves. But it was in vain. The soldiers were provided with long hooks; and the wretched bandits, dragged out of their lair like wild beasts, were held for a moment suspended on the ledge of the rock, and then dashed down the awful height into the valley below."†

Tiberias was founded by Herod Antipas; we accordingly hear nothing of this place till the incidental mention of it in the Gospel of St. John: "There came other boats from *Tiberias*, nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks."‡ And: "After these things Jesus shewed himself again to

* Hosea, x. 13, 14

† Josephus, Wars, b. i. c. xvi. 2—4. Antiq. xiv. c. xv. 4, 5.

‡ Chap. vi. 23.

the disciples at the sea of *Tiberias*." * The ancient account of the building of this city states, that the site on which it stood was formerly a common burying-place; or one, at least, in which many sepulchres existed. Herod, it is said, was obliged to employ every inducement in his power, to persuade the people to come and take up their abode in the city founded on such a spot. But the delightful character of the situation induced him to persevere and overcome every obstacle, rather than not enjoy so pleasant an abode. "For on this side the sea washing upon it; on that side, within a little way, Jordan gliding by it; on the other side, the hot baths of Shammath; and on another, the most fruitful country, Gennesaret, adjacent, did every way begirt this city with pleasure and delight."

Josephus further adds, that soon after its foundation, it so rapidly increased in splendour and prosperity, that it became at last the chief city, not only of Galilee, but of the whole land of Israel. Whether it was only the beauty of the surrounding country, and the persuasions of Herod, which rendered Tiberias so popular, or whether the Jews might not be in some measure influenced by ancient tradition, when hastening to the new city, may fairly be questioned. Although we hear nothing of Tiberias itself till the later period of Jewish history, it is said to have been universally believed by the Jews themselves, that a fortified city existed on the same spot in the most remote ages, that is, in the time of Joshua, when it was known by the name of Rakkath.† Lightfoot quotes the Gemarists in proof of this tradition; thus—"Rakkath is Tiberias," say the Jerusalem Gemarists. And those of Babylon say the same; and that more largely. It is clear to us, that Rakkath is Tiberias. And when, after a few lines, this of Rabbi Jochanan was objected: "When I was a boy, I said a certain thing, concerning which I asked the elders, and it was found as I said; namely, that 'Chammath is Tiberias, and Rakkath Zippor.'" It is thus at last concluded, "Rabbi said, Who is it to whom it was said, that Rakkath is not Tiberias? For behold! when any one dies here (in Babylon) they lament him there (at Tiberias) after this manner: The hearse of a famous man deceased in Sheshach (Babylon) whose name also is of note in Rakkath, is brought hither. Thus lament ye him,—O ye lovers of Israel, O citizens of Rakkath, come forth, and bewail the dead of Babylon! When the soul of Rabbi Zeira was at rest, thus one lamented him: The land of Babylon conceived, and brought forth delights: the land of Israel nourished them. Rakkath said, Woe to itself, because she lost the vessels of her delights. Therefore, saith Rabbi, Chammath is the same with the warm baths of Gadar; and Rakkath is Tiberias." ‡

Few things are more calculated to affect a thoughtful mind with solemn feelings than the single mention of a city, the introduction of its name for the first and the last time, in the volume of a history extending over fifteen centuries. Not a line, not a word exists, to aid us in answering the question, What became of the once noble and

* Chap. xxi. 1. † Joshua, xix. 35. ‡ Chorographical Century. Works, vol. x. p. 138.

beautiful city of Rakkath? How did it cease to exist, and the spot on which it had stood become a place of graves? All that we know is, that the site which it occupied had for ages been lone and desolate; that the ruined sepulchres scattered about it had almost, from their very ancientness, lost the power of convincing men's hearts that they were still sacred; and that a worldly-minded prince, charmed with the sweetness and amenity of the lovely spot, found it the most convenient in his territories for the situation of a new city.

But though Herod the Tetrarch perhaps consulted only his mere taste and convenience, it might not be so with those who most readily accepted the invitation to take up their abode in Tiberias. With them, the traditions connected with the spot, and familiar to them from childhood, perhaps even the neighbourhood of tombs in which saints of the olden times had been laid to rest, might work on their imagination and nobler feelings, and aid in giving to the new city, as far as they were concerned, a far higher character than that which it could derive from the most lavish expenditure of princely revenues, or the finest efforts of art.

More powerful, however, than either the example, the patronage, and persuasions of Herod, or the force of old tradition, was the favour with which Tiberias was regarded by the learned men of those days, as the most advantageous situation which they could choose for the establishment of their schools and societies. It appears from the records which exist, describing the labours of the Talmudists, that Tiberias witnessed their earliest and most effective exertions on behalf of the learning of their age and nation. But, unhappily both for their own times and for after ages, the learning which they cultivated was such as darkeneth rather than increaseth knowledge. "There are some," says Lightfoot, "who believe the Holy Bible was pointed by the wise men of Tiberias. I do not wonder at the impudence of the Jews, who invented the story; but I wonder at the credulity of the Christians who applaud it. Recollect, I beseech you, the names of the Rabbins of Tiberias, from the first situation of the university there, to the time that it expired. And what at length do you find, but a kind of men mad with pharisaism, bewitching with traditions, and bewildered: blind, guileful, doating; they must pardon me, if I say, magical and monstrous? Men, how unfit, how unable, how foolish, for the undertaking so divine a work!" He then refers to the writings of the Rabbis most celebrated in the schools of Tiberias, and exclaims, "See how earnestly they do nothing! How childishly they handle serious matters! How much of sophistry, froth, poison, smoke, nothing at all, there is in their disputes! And if you can believe the Bible was pointed in such a school, believe also all that the Talmudists write. The pointing of the Bible savours of the work of the Holy Spirit, and not the work of lost, blinded, besotted men."

But strongly as it is contradicted that Tiberias or its schools supplied the learned men who affixed the points to the Hebrew Bible, it is owned, that there were thirteen synagogues in the city; that it was rendered famous by the presence

of the great Sanhedrim; and that it is certain, that the Jerusalem Talmud was written there. Few places, therefore, can dispute with Tiberias the palm of learned glory. That the labours of the Rabbis were devoted to subjects so little likely to edify men's souls or hearts must ever be lamented. But it is not necessary to accuse them universally of wilful abuse or error. The pure knowledge of God's word had long been sacrificed to the superstitions of a degenerate age. Men whose profession is learning, are not always men of great capacity for independent thought or inquiry. They may know much more than the generality of men, but they may have no more than the ordinary degree of intellectual force. Hence, whilst the Rabbis obtained the credit, among their contemporaries, of profound erudition, they were as ready as the rest of the Jews to occupy their minds with the traditions of the elders. Thus the schools of Tiberias produced little other fruit than that of multiplied, strange, and subtle commentaries on vague narratives, passing down from distant times, and through uncertain, devious channels. There can be little doubt, that some of those who employed their best thoughts on these naturally barren themes, were men of earnest, energetic minds. It was their misfortune to be diverted from a better course, not so much by their own will, as by the master influences of their times.

Tiberias is often spoken of by Josephus. It was the chief place of the district under his command; and his zeal and military ability were often exhibited in the care which he took to keep it in a proper state of defence. Its inhabitants were exposed to great peril in the early conflicts which occurred between the Jews and the Romans, shortly before the final ruin of the nation. On one occasion, twelve hundred infirm aged people and children were savagely butchered in the stadium of the neighbouring town of Tarichea, some thousands of the inhabitants having previously perished in a battle on the lake, and in a vain attempt to defend the walls. Tiberias, aware of its inability to oppose so formidable an enemy, had, in the meantime, submitted to the Romans; and seems to have enjoyed, in consequence, a happy exemption from the afflictions which overwhelmed the rest of the country. Long after the destruction of Jerusalem, Tiberias was a seat of learning. The Sanhedrim still held its sessions there; and the synagogues rejoiced in flourishing congregations. It was in the third century of the Christian era, that the Talmud, known as the Jerusalem Talmud, was compiled by a learned man of Tiberias. In the following century, St. Jerome found the scholars of Tiberias still pursuing the same course of national erudition, as in former years. He considered himself happy in being able to obtain one of their number for his instruction in the Hebrew language; and the acuteness and laborious inquiries of that eminent father, may be taken as a collateral proof of the ability of the class of men from whom he selected his tutor.

Tiberias appears to have retained its eminence as a place of education, through the whole of that dark and stormy period which intervened between the decline of the

Roman power, and the victories of Omar. We have but trifling and incidental accounts of its state during the ages referred to. Intense, however, profound, and persevering must have been the devotion of those who still gave themselves up to the pursuits of literature while war and famine were at their very doors. The invasion of the Persians, the successful advance of the Mohammedans, found the students of Tiberias as closely and fondly occupied as ever with their curious speculations. On the establishment of the Christian power in Palestine, Tiberias was erected into a bishopric, and became the capital of the district assigned to Tancred. The Jewish schools suffered severely from these events; and though some few of the more devoted families and students remained, Tiberias ceased thenceforth to be the great and flourishing resort of rabbinical learning. Subsequent wars reduced the place to insignificance; and though it recovered, from time to time, some appearance of its ancient strength, it was quickly deprived again of its temporary prosperity. Its state was sufficiently wretched when visited by travellers, shortly before the earthquake of 1837; but by that terrible calamity it was reduced almost to a mass of ruins, and near seven hundred of its unfortunate inhabitants were either swallowed up in the yawning earth, or were crushed to death by the falling buildings.

Beautiful as the situation of Tiberias is, on the shore of the lake, Burckhardt describes it as very hot and unhealthy. The free course of the westerly winds, which prevail throughout Syria during the summer, is here impeded by the mountains. Hence, it is said, intermittent fevers, particularly those of the quartan kind, are common in the hot season. Little rain falls in winter; snow is almost unknown on the borders of the lake; and the temperature, on the whole, is nearly the same as that of the Dead Sea.

Of the edifices noticed by travellers, in describing Tiberias, the only two worthy of mention are the church of St. Peter and the old castle, a rude, irregular building, apparently constructed at different periods, as the necessities or foresight of warlike chiefs induced them to undertake the work. St. Peter's church stands on the very edge of the lake, and is said to mark the spot close by which our Lord so astonished His apostles, by the miraculous draught of fishes; and where he so pathetically charged St. Peter: "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him: Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him: Feed my lambs!"* The edifice is a poor and narrow building, of no great antiquity, as proved by its pointed arch. At the west end is a small court, which commonly affords a lodging to the traveller who does not fix his tent on the open shores of the lake. But while there is an Arabic saying, that the king of the fleas has his court at Tabaria, he seems, if travellers speak true, to have his own especial apartments in this miserable little church.

* John, xxi. 15.

Several traces are discovered along the borders of the lake of the magnificence of the city in early times. Columns of granite from twelve to fifteen feet long; the remains of massive walls and foundations, indicate both the extent and the strength of this once admired and populous town.

The only thing which still gives a certain degree of importance to Tiberias, is the salubrity of its far-famed baths. Ibrahim Pasha has constructed a new bathing-house, for the accommodation of the numerous visitors who flock, it is said, from all parts of Syria, in the month of July, to renovate their strength in these waters.* The new edifice is described as containing several apartments, some of them fitted up in a style of great magnificence, the baths being constructed of beautiful white marble. In the centre of the building is a large circular apartment, surrounded by a marble pavement, and containing a fine reservoir. The old bath-house, spoken of by several travellers, is now, according to Dr. Robinson, in a state of decay; but just above it is a reservoir arched over, in which the water from the springs is first collected, and suffered to cool to the proper temperature, for the use of the new baths.

It appears, from several allusions in ancient writings, that the waters of Tiberias were frequented in former times no less generally than in later ages. Thus, Pliny speaks of this city as "healthful for its warm waters." "Of the warm baths of Tiberias," says Lightfoot,* "the Talmudists speak much." Thus it is said, "Three warm baths remained from the waters of the deluge—the whirlpool of Gadara: the great fountain of Biram: and the warm baths of Tiberias." And Josephus says, "John of Giscala wrote to me, praying that I would permit him the use of the warm baths, which are at Tiberias."†

When Mr. Buckingham was at this place, he found that the only boat on the lake had been left to rot. Other travellers, however, speak of one still to be seen. This was the case when Dr. Robinson ‡ was at Tiberias; and Mr. Bartlett gives the following account of his attempted voyage on the lake:—

"As soon as we had refreshed ourselves, after the fatiguing ride from Mount Tabor, at the house of our Jewish host, our first wish was to engage the small bark which we had seen from the heights above, and make a short excursion upon the lake. Threading the ruinous lanes, we found it by the water-side—an open boat of the rudest and frailest construction, navigated by two or three Jews, who in the poverty of their garb, at least, were no unapt representatives of the apostolic fishermen of Galilee. We had selected a most unfortunate moment to embark—it was high noon and peculiarly sultry; there was not a breath of air to stir the slumbering waters of the lake, or enable us to use our sail; shelter from the heat there was none, and we lay upon the hot deck in a state of perfect exhaustion A prolonged excursion was out of the case; we rowed, therefore, slowly to the baths

* Chorographical Century. Works, vol. x. p. 142. † Josephus's Life. ‡ Travels, vol. iii. 260.

a distance of about two miles from the town, and were glad to escape on shore from the burning heat on deck. We gained little, however, by the exchange; the verdure was too scanty to afford us shade, and the hot steam from the springs rendered their proximity almost overpowering, and quite indisposed me for a nearer examination.

"To command the scene, I ascended a short distance above the shore, to a spot among thickets of dwarf shrubs, whence the accompanying view is taken—which affords a correct idea of the position of the baths themselves, as well as of the site of the ancient city, the modern town, and the scenery of the northern extremity of the lake. Of the two buildings in the foreground, that on the *right* is the more ancient, and is, though still used, neglected in great measure for the other, which with its white dome appears among the thickets on the *left* hand of the view. Near this old building the air teems with the exhalations from the hot sulphur springs, which bursting out of the ground are conducted into the old bathing-house, a portion of the water escaping into the sea. The water is too hot to bear the hand, and is stated to be of the temperature of from 140° to 144° Fahr."*

How melancholy are the thoughts inspired by the contemplation of the now desolate shores of the Sea of Tiberias! For ages, industry and commerce might be seen, in their liveliest aspect, on the bosom of these beautiful waters. Abundance of all the gifts of nature; light and healthful toil; a large measure of freedom, characterized the condition of the people dwelling round the lake. The fishermen's boats; the heavily freighted bark, conveying merchandise from one shore to the other; the gay little vessels, wafting the wealthy occupants of the villas which Roman luxury had taught them to construct—covered with these various vessels, the lake must have presented in the time of our Saviour a scene of wonderful gaiety and excitement; a scene such as can exist only in districts where the benignant spirit of nature, and circumstances favourable to industry, combine to stimulate activity, but which yet must satisfy itself from the narrowness of the sphere assigned it, with the unambitious triumphs of daily labour and daily contentment. Had not the inroads of heathen power and luxury become every year more destructive of Galilean simplicity, the lake of Genesareth might have witnessed the increase of that glorious

* "The ground, (seen in the view,) extending from the baths as far as the ruinous walls of modern Tabaria, was formerly occupied by the ancient city, as is indicated by various fragments of columns and foundations of buildings, portions of the wall, &c.; though of what precise date cannot be determined. Above them, on a point of the hill, are also ruins of a fortress, probably of the middle ages.

"In the distance of our view is seen the northern shore of the lake; the position of Capernaum being, in all probability, on the rising ground, visible to the right of Tabaria (in the distance). Above it are seen the hills of Saphet; and, in the far distance, Mount Hermon, snow-capped, and the only object that gives any character to the view: the influx of the Jordan is also plainly discernible. I have endeavoured, without exaggeration, to give the true character of the scene, which (though the lake itself is always beautiful) is tame, lifeless, and solitary, like so many others in this land of mournful decay."

kingdom of which it saw the beginning, when it was as yet but like a grain of mustard-seed; like a little leaven, hid in the mass to which it was to give life and power.

But while Jerusalem and its inhabitants were bringing upon themselves the heaviest of divine judgments, the people of this region were doing little to avert the just wrath of Heaven. The pride of Pharisees, the daring infidelity of Sadducees, the effeminate luxury of Herodians, were not the only species of sin that might shut men's eyes to the light of truth. Among the shepherds of the vale of Nazareth; among the rough herdsmen of the pastures about Mount Tabor; among the fishermen of the lake of Genesareth, might be found men whose dark and haughty spirits offered as fierce a resistance to the teaching of truth and holiness, as that of the more conspicuous corruption of the Scribes and Pharisees. Nor would the comparison be less correct if instituted betweeen Jerusalem and Tiberias. The vices prevailing in the former were, no doubt, far more strongly defined; were of a deeper dye, and exercised a more direct and fatal influence on the state of the doomed and perishing people; but those of the Galilean city, the corruptions and follies of Tiberias, were but dwarf images of those fostered in Jerusalem. They wrought with a corresponding power on the declining state and character of the people; and when the Gospel was proclaimed to the formerly simple inhabitants of the hills and valleys, and the rough fishermen of the lake, the bold, bad spirit of the age was found to have hardened their hearts, and darkened their understanding; and to have raised up, as it were, a barrier against the flowings of divine grace, that stream of converting light and love which had changed the humble fishermen, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon Peter, and the Publican at the receipt of customs, into the profoundest of teachers, the mightiest of reformers.

FROM TIBERIAS TO JULIAS-BETHSAIDA.

On leaving Tiberias to visit some of the most remarkable spots on the shores of the lake, the traveller is deeply affected with the solitude of the surrounding country. Not a vestige exists of the once flourishing population which crowded the banks. Even at the best, as we have found, only one solitary little bark is seen on the broad expanse of the waters; and the gay sparkling of the waves, the occasional verdure of the soft slopes which they kiss, do but add to the sad feeling of the mighty change which has been wrought by revolution and apostasy.

Some not uninteresting inquiries might be founded on the question, Why did our Lord select Capernaum, rather than the more important town of Tiberias, as his abode on leaving Nazareth? That there were good reasons for this choice, we cannot doubt. Capernaum was the home of the ardent, faithful men who had the heroism to attach themselves from the first to Jesus of Nazareth, to the stern teacher of new doctrines, who had nothing to recommend him but the power of truth, and the grandeur of virtue. The affection which they cherished for their master surrounded him in his painful wanderings: it was, perhaps, only when he had travelled far from Capernaum, that he could exclaim, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." One of the reasons, therefore, which may be supposed to have induced our Lord, humanly speaking, to select Capernaum for his residence, was this, that his most devoted, affectionate disciples had their home there; that he found among them the materials of domestic virtue, out of which to form a foundation for many of his precepts; that he beheld it as the centre of a circle, from which the rays of his divine influence, while he dwelt in Galilee, might be most beneficially diffused.

But it may also be suggested, that the neighbourhood of Capernaum offered readier and more agreeable retreats than that of Tiberias. According to Josephus, there was a district running along the side of the lake, of most peculiar beauty and fertility. The temper of the air suited itself to every variety of fruits. Nut-bushes, bearing, in other places, only during the winter; palms, which are nourished with heat; and near them figs and olives, which require a more moderate air, might there be seen flourishing at the same time, in the fulness of their beauty. The district thus described is said to have been about thirty furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth. Josephus adds, that it was watered with a spring of excellent water, and was commonly called Capernaum. Lightfoot observes on this, that

either the city had its name from the district, or the district its name from the city, and the city from the pleasantness of its situation. The Evangelists, he says, compared together, clearly show that this city was seated in the land of Genesareth. For when it is said by Matthew and Mark, that Christ, sailing over from the desert of Bethsaida, arrived in the country of Genesareth,* it is manifest from John, that he arrived at Capernaum.† But it is said, by some ancient commentators, that there is a place near Tiberias in which are gardens and paradises, and hence it is concluded that Capernaum was at no great distance from the former city. We have, however, another help to the determining of the situation of this place; for St. Matthew says that our Lord, on leaving Nazareth, "came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim;"‡ that is, it was situated near the limits, where the bounds of Zabulon and Nephthalim touched each other, on the south coast of the Sea of Genesareth; and between Tiberias and Tarichea. §

Favoured as was Capernaum above all other cities by the frequent residence of our Lord, no church rose within its walls to remain as a monument to future ages of the gratitude of its inhabitants. "The people which sat in darkness saw great light: and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light *had* sprung up." But the dawning splendour found only a few humble spirits ready to hail its revelations of heaven and eternity. The multitude beheld it as a meteor, which would soon pass away; and, shutting their eyes to the proffered light, they became involved in a darkness more profound, more terrible than that of the remotest times.

So awfully has the saying of our Lord been fulfilled, "Thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shall be brought down to hell," that not a trace remains of the once busy and prosperous city. Travellers have sought with eager, pious curiosity, to discover the spot on which the place stood so signalized as our Lord's abode. To none are we more indebted in this respect, than to Dr. Robinson. He sought for the site of the long lost Capernaum, he tells us, "with the most absorbing and exciting interest."‖ There was one important circumstance in the account given by Josephus, to guide the research thus commenced. The district evidently owed its character for luxurious beauty to the waters of a copious fountain. Dr. Robinson, while ascending a path along the river side of the plain, at the foot of the Western hills, met with a brook which diffused its fertilizing dews in all directions. Soon after he arrived at a beautiful fountain, called the "Round Fountain," and this he believed to be the fountain spoken of by Josephus as watering and fertilizing the district of Genesareth, thence called Capernaum. If this supposition had been correct, "there was every reason to suppose," he continues, "that the city of Ca-

* Matt. xiv. 34; Mark, vi. 53. † John, vi. 22, 24, 25. ‡ Matt. iv. 13.
§ Lightfoot, vol. x. p. 147. ‖ Biblical Researches, vol. iii. p. 282.

pernaum must have lain somewhere in the vicinity. The western hill above the fountain is strewed with large stones, having at a distance much the appearance of ruins. I ascended it, therefore, excited with the eager hope of finding some trace of a former site, which then I should hardly have hesitated to consider as the remains of Capernaum. But my hope ended in disappointment. A few stones had indeed been thrown together; but there was nothing which could indicate that any town or village had ever occupied the spot. The stones which cover the hill are of the same dark colour and volcanic character as those around Tiberias."

Another hope was excited of discovering the site of Capernaum by the remains of a village called Abu Shûsheh, on a slight eminence, not very far from the spot above described. But here, too, were "no traces of antiquity; no hewn stones, nor any mason-work; nothing, indeed, but the remains of a few dwellings, built of rough volcanic stones; some few of them still used as magazines by the Arabs of the plain." Discouraging, however, as was the absence of any appearance of ancient buildings, or their remains, the nature of the surrounding scenery was calculated to keep up the idea that it was here Capernaum formerly stood. The fertility of the plain, it is said, can hardly have been exceeded. "All kinds of grain and vegetables are produced in abundance, including rice in the moister parts; while the natural productions, as at Tiberias and Jericho, are those of a more southern latitude. Indeed, in beauty, fertility, and climate, the whole tract answers well enough to the glowing though exaggerated description of Josephus."

But the country still further on was characterized by the same attractive features. At the distance of somewhat more than an hour's journey from Mejdel, or Magdala, is a deserted khan, called Khân Minyeh, and between this building and the shore is a large fountain, gushing out from beneath the rocks, and forming a brook, which makes its way into the lake some few yards off. A noble fig-tree, spoken of by several travellers, grows at the edge of the fountain; and the whole of the surrounding scenery bears the character of fertility. At a little distance from the fountain, appears a low mound, the summit of which is strewed with ruins, but not of a kind to lead the traveller to suppose that they are the remains of a place of any importance, or remote antiquity. But in the midst of so much uncertainty, no spot on the shores of the lake seems better entitled to be regarded as the site of Capernaum. The learned and laborious traveller above referred to, examines, with his usual care, the incidental allusions to the city found in ancient writers. He concludes that Capernaum was a name which the fountain derived from the neighbouring town, and that the fountain thus distinguished, was 'Ain-et-Tîn, a noble spring which scatters delight and sweetness throughout the whole of the otherwise parched and barren land.

We know from Eusebius and Jerome, that Capernaum existed in the fourth century. A church was built there by a Jewish convert; but above two centuries after, the only religious edifice spoken of is one raised on the supposed site of St. Peter's

House. Nothing is related, even by the most zealous collectors of traditions, respecting this place during more than a thousand years, except by a writer named Arculfus. This pious man visited the Holy Land towards the end of the seventh century, and his narrative is given, without abridgment, in Relaud's Palæstina.* According to the recital thus quoted, Arculfus looked down upon Capernaum from the neighbouring mountain. It was a town without walls, occupying a narrow tract of ground running between the mountain and the lake; the former bounding it on the north, the latter on the south.

From the time of Arculfus to the present, no intelligible account has been given of Capernaum. It has, in reality, been swept away by the mere course of ages. If we might speculate upon such a theme, we could suggest, that the honour which Christians would have bestowed upon the habitual residence of their Lord, would have been an unfitting homage to a place which, of itself, entertained so little reverence for his word. There is no town in the whole compass of the Holy Land the name of which would more easily have awakened the fervent and affectionate associations of the Christian than Capernaum. It was there that the blessed Jesus, when he had been teaching through the villages and towns of Galilee; when in the busy marts of the latter, and the obscurest dwellings of the former, he had sought for objects of his divine compassion,—it was there that, when he had borne the griefs of others, till he almost fainted under the burden of that, his earlier cross, he found repose in the humble home of some devoted disciple. And there, too, it was that he afforded so many glorious evidences of his power,† "that his fame went throughout all Syria;" and there, that he proclaimed, seated by the side of the lake, or on the brow of the hill, from which its bright waters might still be seen, those gracious truths which filled his hearers with astonishment: "For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes." Surely the city which beheld such things, and was made familiar with the doctrines of such a teacher, but utterly rejected the blessings thus offered it, deserved to lose both its place and name, and be like the house built, without a foundation, on the sand!

At the distance of about an hour from the Khân Minyeh, and at the northern extremity of the lake, are the ruins of a place called Tell Hûm.‡ The character of these remains is very different to that of those which are found on the spot above described. Blocks of sculptured stone; columns richly ornamented with Corinthian capitals; others similar to those seen in the great church of Tyre, with double shafts; and the ruins of ordinary dwellings, strewed along the shore to the distance of half-a-mile, indicate the former existence on this site of some important town.

* Palæstina, pp. 683, 684.

† The paralytic was healed here, who was let down from the top of the house; here he also restored two men to their sight, and cured one who was possessed of a devil. He healed likewise the centurion's servant, by only speaking a word; and raised from the dead the daughter of Jairus.

‡ Le Pere Naud speaks of this place as certainly the ancient Capernaum. Voyage Nouveau, liv. v. p. 571.

In the time of Pococke, it was commonly believed that this was Capernaum.* But no other name, it seems, has been assigned to the ruined city but that given it by the Arabs. Neither will its situation, so far from Genesareth, allow of its being regarded as Capernaum; and it was, therefore, probably, some town of comparative modern origin, which rose and fell with the changing tide of prosperity.

The other towns and villages which once crowded the populous shores of the lake, have shared the fate of Capernaum. Allusion has already been made to Magdala, now Mejdel, as not far from Tiberias. It was called Magdala of Gadara; and to show its nearness to Chammath, or Tiberias, Lightfoot quotes the curious passage in the Talmud, in which it is said, that the Gadarenes might, by permission of the rabbi, "come down to Chammath on the sabbath, and walk through it, unto the furthest street, even to the bridge." This little town was the residence of Mary Magdalene, one of the few who early hailed the Saviour at Capernaum, and for whose sake alone the Good Shepherd, who came to seek that which was lost, would not have scorned to take up his abode in that town. Magdala retains no feature of the past, its site being now occupied by a poor and miserable little village.† Bethsaida appears also to have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Capernaum. Thus when our Lord had fed the five thousand men who had been listening to his preaching in the desert, "he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people." And it is afterwards said, "When they had passed over, they came into the land of Genesareth, and drew to the shore."‡

Biddulph, who visited this district above two hundred years ago, has this passage in his Journal:—"March the twenty-fourth, we rode by the Sea of Galilee, which hath two names, John vi. 1: 'The Sea of Galilee,' and 'The Sea of Tiberias,' because it is in Galilee; and of Tiberias, because the city of Tiberias was built near it." Also Bethsaida, another ancient city. We saw some ruins of the walls of both. But it is said in that chapter, John vi. 1, that Jesus sailed over the Sea of Galilee. And elsewhere, that he went over the lake; and Luke ix. 10, it is said, that he departed into a desert place near the city Bethsaida. Which text of John I learned better to understand by seeing, than ever I could by reading. For when Tiberias and Bethsaida were both on the same shore of the sea, and Christ went from Tiberias to, or

* "It is situated," he says, "at the eastern foot of the hills which are north of the plain of Gennesareth, where I saw ruins of a small church of white marble, with some remains of pilasters about it. The ruins extend considerably to the north of the lake, and I could plainly observe a round port for small boats; so that this, without doubt, was the ancient Tarichea, which Josephus describes as situated under the hills, like Tiberias." Description of the East. Vol. II. Part I. p. 72. Dr. Robinson's account of the present appearance of this place is somewhat different to Pococke's.

† When St. Matthew says that our Lord came "into the coasts of Magdala," chap. xv. 39, St. Mark says, in the parallel passage, that he "came into the ports of Dalmanutha." Chap. viii. 10. Of Dalmanutha nothing is known.

‡ Mark, vi. 45, 53.

near, Bethsaida, hence I gather, that our Saviour Christ sailed not over the length, or breadth of the sea, but that he passed some bay, as much as Tiberias was distant from Bethsaida. Which is proved thence, that a great multitude followed him thither on foot; which they could not do, if he had sailed over the whole sea, to that shore, among the Gergasenes, which is without the Holy Land." But Lightfoot objects to the latter argument that, there was a very beaten and common way from Capernaum and Tiberias by the bridge of Chammath, into the country of the Gadarenes, and so to Bethsaida.

Chorazin * was another of the places which once flourished in the neighbourhood of Capernaum. It is only incidentally alluded to by our Lord, but in a manner which proves how patient and affectionate had been his efforts to save it from the doom which otherwise awaited it. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you."† Independent of more awful considerations, our Lord's denunciation has received a literal and remarkable fulfilment in the temporal fate of the towns referred to. Chorazin and Bethsaida have absolutely perished. No trace can be discovered of their foundations, or of the soil on which they stood. The divine judgment swept them from the earth. But Tyre and Sidon have still a name, and a place among the cities of the land. Fearful indeed have been the calamities and the ruin which they have suffered; but it has been more tolerable for them in the day of visitation than for Chorazin or Bethsaida.

The Lake of Tiberias is generally described as a noble and beautiful sheet of water. On the east it is closely shut in by mountains, and the country on that side has not, according to Pococke, a very agreeable aspect. On the west is the plain of Tiberias, the high ground of the plain of Huttin; the plain of Genesareth, and "the foot of those hills by which one ascends to the high mountains of Japhet." On the north and south, the country is low and open. According to Josephus, the lake is eighteen miles long, and five broad; but Pococke considers it not above fourteen or fifteen miles long. A learned Jew, he says, with whom he conversed at Saphet, lamented that he could not have an opportunity, when he was at Tiberias, to go in a boat to see the well of Miriam in this lake, which, he said, according to their Talmudical writers, was fixed here, after it had accompanied the children of Israel through the wilderness, and the water of which might be seen continually rising up.‡ Le Pere Naud says that the experienced travellers by whom he was accompanied considered the breadth of the lake to be not more than two good

* "I inquired for Chorazin," says Pococke, "but could find nothing like the name, except at a village called Gerasi, which is among the hills, west of the supposed ruins of Tarichea."

† Matt. xi. 21, 22.

‡ Description of the East. Vol. II. part I. p. 69.

leagues, and its length, about five or six.* The Chevalier d'Arvieux describes it as three leagues in breadth.†

Pococke went along the west side of the lake to the south end of it, about four miles from Tiberias, and came to the place where it empties itself into the Jordan. It is there not more than two miles broad, and the channel of the river is rather nearer the west. For the first furlong or so, it runs south; and then, for about half-a-mile, takes a westerly direction. In this space, between the river and the lake, the traveller discovered a fortification on the rising ground, called Il-Carak. On the west were some signs of buildings, and a very long bridge, or causeway, built with arches, over a marshy ground, under which, when the lake was high, the water flowed into the Jordan, making the town or fortress alluded to a sort of island. By cutting a channel here, they might always have a stream which would make it a very strong place, even at this time, as it is out of the reach of ordinary cannon from the western hills, except from a small height in the plain, which formerly might add to its strength by defending the pass.

From the spot here described, a road is found crossing the small intervening plain in a north-easterly direction, to the ruined city of Julias, or Bethsaida of Gaulonitis. The plain is well cultivated by the inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys, and produces considerable quantities of corn, maize, and rice. Burckhardt speaks of honey of the finest quality being found here; and of gourds and cucumbers of such early growth, and so highly esteemed, that they are carried to Damascus and sold there in the market three weeks before any are produced from the gardens around that city. Herds of buffaloes and other horned cattle roam this plain, and form with the produce of the fertile soil the riches of the Ghawârineh, or Arabs of the valley.‡

Bethsaida of Gaulonitis was an inconsiderable place till favoured by the notice of Philip the Tetrarch. Philip, says Josephus, having raised the town of Bethsaida on the lake of Genesareth to the honour of a city, both in respect to the number of the inhabitants and other means of strength, gave it the same name with Julia, the emperor's daughter.§ Julias-Bethsaida, adds Lightfoot, was not seated in Galilee, as it is in the maps, but beyond the Sea of Galilee, in Perea; and was certainly that Julias which Pliny places eastward of the lake of Genesareth. There seems no reason to question that the Bethsaida here spoken of was the town alluded to in the account of our Lord's retreat from the unhallowed curiosity of Herod the Tetrarch. For the apostles having returned, and described what they had done, "he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city, called Bethsaida."‖ To the secluded spot in which he had thus sought a temporary

* Voyage, Nouveau, p. 580.

† Memoires, t. ii. p. 277.

‡ Travels, p. 316.

§ Antiq. b. xviii. c. iii.

‖ Luke, ix. 9, 10. Reland takes great pains in comparing the evidence on the subject of the two towns spoken of by the name of Bethsaida, Palæstina, t. ii. p. 653, 869; and t. i. p. 131.

repose he was followed by the eager multitude, to whom he spake "of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing." Never perhaps was the power of his words so intensely felt by the crowd as on this occasion: they had forgotten all ordinary cares, had lost the sense of hunger and thirst, in the all-engrossing delight with which they listened to the wonderful words proceeding from his lips. There was, for the time, a mysterious feeling in their souls, that the power of life had chosen the voice of that gracious speaker for its mightiest instrument. They had never before been so conscious of the might of truth, or of the fitness of their own spirits to rejoice in its divine communications.

No less beautifully did our Lord illustrate the benevolent temper of the gospel by the miracle which followed, than he sublimely proved by the majesty of his discourse, that it is the power of God unto salvation. The "desert place belonging to Bethsaida" was the scene of the miracle referred to. It was in Bethsaida itself that the blind man was brought to him, whose miraculous cure was attended by circumstances so singularly accordant with the natural return of sight. Jesus, having put his hands upon him, asked him if he "saw ought." The man looked up, and said, "I see men as trees walking. After that, he put his hands again upon his eyes and made him look up; and he was restored, and saw every man clearly." We may be permitted to conjecture that, in this case, there was something in the internal state of the man's own mind upon whom the miracle was wrought, or perhaps even in the thoughts and questionings of the apostles themselves, which induced Jesus to work the miracle by distinct exercises of his power. There was need, perhaps, of securing a more devout and humble attention, of giving a warning that the hand of Omnipotency, obedient as it is to faith, must yet be recognised in its instrumental operations. It is also remarkable, that Jesus before performing the miracle* led the sufferer out of the city, and on parting with him said, "Neither go into the town, nor tell it to any in the town." Was Bethsaida, a curious inquirer may ask, in so melancholy a state at this period, that it had risen in arms, as it were, not only against the truth, but the very mercy and charity of Christ? Few of the incidents selected by artists in illustrating scripture afford nobler subjects for the pencil than the one spoken of in the account of this miracle. It was Jesus himself who "took the blind man by the hand and led him out of the town;" and beautiful is the picture presented to the imagination, as it contemplates the mild but majestic Jesus guiding the uncertain steps of the poor supplicant, and leading him apart from the crowd, and through the gay streets of the luxurious little city, to some calm desert spot, where, while he gave him sight, he might instruct him in the mysteries of his kingdom.

Burckhardt† carefully traversed the district above described. The valley of the Jordan, or El Ghor, he says, may be considered as beginning at the northern extremity of the Lake of Tiberias, and near Bysan takes a direction

* Mark, viii. 26.

† Burckhardt's Travels, p. 344.

N. by E. and S. by W. Its breadth, in the language of Oriental travellers, is about two hours; and in many spots the number of rivulets and fountains have rendered the herbage as rich and beautiful as that of the verdant valleys of more temperate climes. On issuing fom the lake, the river Jordan flows for about three hours near the western hills, and then turns towards the eastern, in which direction it continues to flow for a distance of several hours. Its course is through a valley about a quarter-of-an-hour in breadth, and very much lower than the other parts of the plain of Ghor. The valley is here covered with trees of lofty and luxurious growth, and affords a striking contrast, it is said, to the sandy slopes which border it on both sides. Where Burckhardt crossed the Jordan it was eighty paces broad, and about three deep. This was in the summer. At other periods of the year, the river is fordable only in particular places, and these are known to no one but the Arabs who inhabit the neighbouring valley.

By pursuing a westerly direction, the traveller finds himself at the end of about three hours, and after traversing a steep and rocky road, approaching the mountainous track, the still distant summit of which is crowned by the old town and castle of Saphet, or Safed. At the foot of these hills, tradition points out the pit into which Joseph is said to have been cast. When this spot was visited by Pére de Naud, it was covered by a small dome, supported by four marble pillars.* The khan close by has been for ages the resting-place of travellers proceeding to Damascus, the high-road to which is crossed at a little distance from this place. Burckhardt estimated the depth of the pit at thirty feet, and its diameter at about three. It is, however, much disputed whether this was the cave into which Joseph was thrown. On the one side is the testimony of long-standing tradition; on the other, the doubt arising from considerable geographical and historical discrepancies.

Precipitous hills and deep ravines, the dark traces of earthquakes or volcanoes, characterize this part of the country. The mountainous ridge which leads to Safed is of limestone formation, and is intersected by valleys meeting each other a little below the point surmounted by the castle.

Saphet, it is observed, is not mentioned by name in our English translation of the Apocrypha.† But in the Vulgate, Tobias is said to be "of the tribe and city of Nephtali, in the upper parts of Galilee, beyond the road that leads to the west, having on the left the city of Saphet." The situation and strength of the place gave it great importance during the crusades. It is accordingly frequently mentioned in the chronicles of the middle ages. Pococke says that he saw on a building in the town the arms of the knights of St. John, sculptured in relief. Pére de Naud also states that he observed on an old wall a lamb, cut in the stone, in bas-relief, bearing a standard, in imitation of the ancient representations of John the Baptist. The Jews, on the other hand, trace the origin of the castle of Saphet to the remote times

* Voyage, Nouveau, 1702. lib. v. p. 554. † Pococke, vol. ii. p. 76.

of their national prosperity, and regard the city itself as possessing a degree of sanctity which renders it at least the equal of Jerusalem and Hebron. Nothing could exceed their enthusiastic reverence for the place, even after they had suffered the most grievous persecutions within its walls. The Chevalier d'Arvieux describes their attachment to it as a species of madness, and says that it arose first from the notion that several of their greatest prophets and rabbis are buried in the neighbourhood; and, secondly, from the general belief that the Messiah when he comes will make Saphet the capital of his visible kingdom, or will at least, according to other authors, remain there fortyy ears, before he ascends his throne at Jerusalem.* There was a period when this people had no fewer than eighteen synagogues in Saphet, with a proportionable supply of schools and colleges. The most venerated copies of the law have been preserved here for many ages. Some of the rolls shown to Pére de Naud were said to be from three to four hundred years old. Others, not equally esteemed for exactness, were kept in separate cabinets. And a third class consisted of those which had been collected from places no longer inhabited by the faithful of the nation.†

In a cave not far from the city, are said to have dwelt the wonderful men who laid the foundation for the whole vast system of Talmudical learning and tradition. If what is told of these ancient Jewish sages be true, they must have exhibited a singular compound of wisdom and superstition; of virtue, self-denial, and fanaticism. Their example was followed by a long line of diligent students in the same unprofitable species of learning. As in the case of Tiberias, nothing could deprive Saphet of the venerable character which it acquired by the faithful devotion of the successive generations of worshippers and inquirers. The frightful persecutions and exactions which they have suffered; the earthquakes which have levelled the city with the dust, have had no effect on the minds of those who believe that Saphet is the consecrated abode of wisdom and piety.

No city in Palestine is more remarkable for situation than Saphet. Spreading over the steep side of a lofty mountain, the houses are described as seeming to rest upon each other in successive tiers, the roofs of the one series meeting the foundations of the other. Mr. Elliot, indeed, says that, "as the hill on which the town is built is precipitous, and the roofs are flat, public convenience has sanctioned the conversion of these roofs into thoroughfares, so that, both on mules and on foot, he and his companions repeatedly passed over the tops of dwellings." Some quarters of the city seem formerly to have exhibited the usual signs of a prosperous and contented population; but of late years the place has been more celebrated for the poverty of its inhabitants, for the wretchedness of their dwellings, and their sad struggles against overwhelming misfortunes, than for anything else. The earth-

* Memoires, t. ii. c. xxi. p. 318.

† Voyage, Nouveau, p. 554.

quake which occurred at the beginning of the year 1837, was attended with calamities which the imagination shrinks from contemplating. From the very position of the city, on the steep side of the mountain, the shock of the earthquake instantly produced the most terrific effects. The successive tiers of building, suddenly shaken from their foundations, were rolled one over the other, as if the gigantic spirit of evil were hurling them for his sport into one huge mass of desolation. Nor was it only the more modern edifices which thus felt the power of the earthquake. The castle of Saphet is described by the oldest travellers as a fortress exhibiting signs of prodigious strength. It was a Gothic edifice, built upon a rock of enormous height, and commanding from its formidable towers the whole of the surrounding plains. From its once noble terraces, the eye ranges over the numerous cities and villages of the Lake of Tiberias; along the plain of Jericho, and the intervening country extending to the borders of the Dead Sea. Sublimely contrasted with these subject plains, tower the summits of Tabor, Carmel, and Libanus, while in the far distance may be traced the mountainous ridges of Arabia.*

The proud edifice which had for ages crowned this rocky height, and which had defied the battles and the storms of centuries, fell like the meanest hovel, when the step of the earthquake was felt on its foundations.

According to the testimony of eye-witnesses, the scenes of misery which followed this awful convulsion of nature, could scarcely be paralleled in the history of human misfortunes. It is computed that near five thousand persons perished, the greater part of them by being engulfed in the yawning earth, or by falling beneath the ruins of their habitations; the rest dying of the injuries which they had received, though rescued from immediate destruction by the piety of their friends. Striking, no doubt, were some of the instances of deliverance which occurred in the progress of this fearful calamity. Terrible, it is equally certain, were many of the forms which death assumed while pursuing the terror-stricken sufferer. Dr. Robinson, in describing the effects of the earthquake of Tiberias, says, "A Mahommedan, with whom my companion fell into conversation at the threshingfloor, related, that he and four others were returning down the mountain west of the city in the afternoon when the earthquake occurred. All at once the earth opened and closed again, and two of his companions disappeared. He ran home affrighted, and found that his wife, mother, and two others in the family had perished. On digging next day where his two companions had disappeared, they were found dead in a standing posture." †

Saphet, since this awful calamity, has witnessed some noble instances of charity on the part both of Christians and Jews. The former by their missionaries, and

* Memoires, d'Arvieux, t. ii. c. xxi. p. 321

† Biblical Researches, Vol. III. p. 255.

the latter, by the representatives of wealthy congregations in various parts of the world, have supplied the surviving sufferers with large sums of money to repair their ruined houses. Saphet, therefore, again exists ; and again the traveller beholds a busy, laborious population, rising, as it were, from the midst of ruins which, it might have been supposed, would never again have heard the voice of human industry or human hope. Singular indeed is the sight of men bereft of home, almost of the means of existence, and having but just dried the tears so passionately shed over their lost friends and families, cheerfully devoting themselves to the task of digging new foundations on the very spot which the earthquake visited in its fiercest wrath. Yet such is the spectacle which the perilous and desolate declivities about Saphet have presented ever since the occurrence of the calamity. Far easier as it would have been for the unfortunate survivors to have removed to some neighbouring town, and there obtained a new and safer home, they preferred enduring any hardships to forsaking the spot rendered dear to them by the traditions of their forefathers. The soil of Saphet was more precious than that of the most fertile of the valleys and pastures of the neighbouring districts. Its ruins contained treasures dearer to their hearts than any that could be offered them in the most prosperous cities of Galilee or Judea There is something in this well worthy of remark. Other cities have fallen into ruins, and been left till the country around them has become a desert. No tender associations, no power of patriotism or affection could preserve Palmyra or Thebes. How is it then that Saphet, with so little to recommend it, with so much in its dangerous position and desolate aspect to make men shun it, should have been raised from the dust again by the painful toil of its few surviving inhabitants? The answer is found in the intense religious enthusiasm of those few poor people: they believe that it is holy ; and that it is better to suffer the extreme of misery in such a place than to enjoy prosperity in the noblest marts of wealth and folly. What might not be expected from such a people if guided by a clearer and a purer light?

Saphet has been regarded by several writers as occupying the site of the ancient city of Bethulia. This has led some of the old travellers to spiritualize on the traditions of the place : and Judith with the head of Holofernes is represented as a type of the Virgin Mary, through whom the head of the old serpent, the great enemy of God's people, has been bruised, and his victims delivered. The elevated situation of Saphet has also induced some travellers to speak of it as the "city set upon a hill," referred to by our Lord ; and Pococke says, that if the evidence had not been so much in favour of the tradition which represents Mount Tabor as the scene of the transfiguration, he should have believed the hill of Saphet to be the most entitled to be called the mount of transfiguration. A notion equally ill founded has prevailed, that the plain of Dothaim is in the vicinity of Saphet ; the geographers of the middle ages having evidently yielded assent to the most vague reports derived from pilgrims and crusaders. The Pere de Naud,* says, that "the plain of Dothaim is

* Voyage, Nouveau, liv. vi. p. 569.

not further from Saphet than one league and a half; and that it is supposed to extend from Joseph's well higher up to the Sea of Galilee on the south, and to a considerable distance from east to west." Pococke remarks,* that Dothaim was probably near Shechem. This opinion is founded on the very words of the sacred narrative; for when Joseph came to Shechem, "a certain man found him, and behold he was wandering in the field; and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou? And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed their flocks. And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan."†

In the extensive district lying between Safed and the ancient Cæsarea-Philippi, or Paneas, now Banias, is the lake Houle, the Old Testament Merom, and the classic Samachonitis.‡ This sheet of water overspreads a considerable space of ground, and its surrounding shores afford excellent pasture for the cattle of the Arabs frequenting or inhabiting the neighbourhood. Burckhardt visited an old Saracenic castle, occupying a rocky hill to the north-east of the lake. It was apparently erected about the time of the crusades, and exhibits signs of having been once a place of vast strength and importance. From this point the snowy Hermon, and Lebanon, and Antilebanon may be contemplated in their rival beauty and grandeur; and among the recesses which they inclose are to be found the sources of the Jordan, that river the very mention of which seems like a concentrating of the account of all that is most wonderful in the history of providence and redemption. It is from a cavern in the immediate vicinity of Banias, that the main spring of the Jordan is believed to issue. Burckhardt discovered the traces of niches and inscriptions on the face of the rock at the base of which this cavern is situated. A few words only of one of the inscriptions are legible. By these we learn that some heathen priest, a priest of Pan, was once employed in his idolatrous worship about this venerable spot. Josephus, who apparently speaks of it as the source of the Jordan, mentions that Herod built a temple here to the honour of Augustus. The same writer, however, describes the lake Phiala as giving rise to the river. This lake is said to be about a hundred and twenty stadia from Panium; and the notion that it is the source of the Jordan was derived from the experiment of Philip the Tetrarch, who ordered some chaff to be thrown into the lake, and the chaff appearing again at Panium, the philosophers of the day concluded that they had discovered the source of the Jordan. The lake Phiala is said to be four hours from Banias. Some modern travellers, in their way from Banias to Damascus, came to the shores, as they describe it, of a very picturesque little lake, apparently perfectly circular, of rather more than a mile in circumference, surrounded on all

* Travels, p. 77. † Genesis, xxxvii. 15–17.

‡ Burckhardt, p. 37.

sides by sloping hills, richly wooded. The singularity, they add, of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply nor discharge; and its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid.

Supposing the lake thus described to be the ancient lake Phiala, it is evident, observe the travellers referred to, that, notwithstanding Philip's experiment, the source of the Jordan must not be sought for here. There is a rivulet which, rising from some neighbouring mountains, traverses a narrow rocky valley, and meets the Jordan at Banias. Had the waters of the lake a subterranean passage, it must be beneath this rivulet, which is supposed to lie lower than the lake itself.*

But the present inhabitants of the district about Banias point out another source of the Jordan. This is at a place called Tell-el-Kâdy, a little hill, from which issue two fountains, which, uniting their streams, form a river from twelve to fifteen yards wide. The river thus formed pursues a rapid course to the plain, and is considered by the people of the neighbourhood as the proper Jordan. After running for a few miles, it joins the other reputed branch of the Jordan; and is probably the stream referred to by Josephus, when speaking of the other source of the Jordan at Dan, and of the lesser Jordan.†

There seems every reason to believe that Dr. Robinson is right in concluding that the two sources of this sacred river are found at Banias and Tell-el-Kâdy. But he adds,‡ that two other streams, no mention of which occurs in ancient writers, are seen near the more western part of the Houle, or el-Hûleh basin. After tracing their course, he says, "according to this representation, two separate streams of considerable magnitude enter the lake el-Hûleh from the north, each of which is formed by the junction of two others. The eastern coast of these main streams, and this alone, with its two sources, has now for more than thirty centuries borne the name of Jordan. The longer and larger river coming from Hâsbeiya, although unquestionably its waters constitute the remotest sources of the Jordan, appears never to have been included in the name, but was regarded merely as a tributary of the lake el-Hûleh. How, or wherefore, the name came at first to be so applied, we have no means of ascertaining; and it behoves us to rest satisfied with the usage of so many ages. The attempt to introduce a change at this late hour would be alike presumptuous and futile. As well might we require the majestic floods of the Mississipi and Missouri to exchange these names above their junction, inasmuch as the latter is, of the two, by far the larger and the mightier stream."

Paneas, or, as now called, Banias, was the ancient Cæsarea-Philippi, and venerable, therefore, to the Christian reader, as one of the places visited by our Lord. For it is said that, having restored the blind man to sight at Bethsaida, he and his

* Irby and Mangles, p. 286, 287. † See Lightfoot's Works, Vol. X.

‡ Biblical Researches, Vol. III. p. 354.

disciples went out into the towns of Cæsarea Philippi. It was on this journey that the memorable questions were asked, "Whom do men say that I am?" and, "Whom say ye that I am?" and that the no less memorable answer was returned: "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." On the same journey too it was that he began to teach his doubting, awe-struck disciples that he must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again."* A rude and obscure tradition indicates that Jesus wrought some of his most remarkable miracles at Cæsarea. It is said, that a statue was raised to his honour in this city by the woman whom he cured of the issue of blood.† This statue, it is further said, lasted till the time of Julian the Apostate, who ordered it to be cast down, and his own set in its place. Philip the Tetrarch added his name to that of Cæsarea, to distinguish this city from that of the other Cæsarea on the sea-coast, the city of Cornelius the centurion. It continued to be a place of some wealth for several ages, and its church was of sufficient importance, in the early part of the fourth century, to send a bishop to the Nicene council. During the Crusades it was repeatedly assaulted by the contending parties, till, at length, in the latter half of the twelfth century it was finally lost to the Christians, by the successful attack of Nureddin. The Paneas of modern times is an insignificant town, containing about a hundred and fifty houses. It is at some little distance from this spot that Cæsarea Philippi formerly stood its ruins now covering the plain to the north of the bridge over the Jordan.

Having thus briefly described the country about the Lake of Tiberias, and the more important places in its vicinity, we will now trace the progress of Saladin's conquering army after the fatal battle of Huttin. The castle of Tiberias surrendered the next day, and the wife and children of Count Raymond fell into the hands of Saladin. With his usual generosity, the conqueror immediately granted them their freedom, loaded them with presents, and sent them with an escort to Tripoli.‡ Having allowed his troops two days to repose themselves in Tiberias, he then led them to the plain of Sephouri, and thence to Ptolemais. That wealthy city, dreading a siege, opened its gates at his approach, and he had the satisfaction of freeing four thousand Mussulmans, who had been reduced to slavery by the Christians. Ignorant of the events which had occurred, the captains of the richly freighted vessels from Genoa, Venice, and other western ports, unsuspiciously entered the harbour, and aided, by their splendid cargoes, to increase the triumph of the infidel. Saladin next proceeded towards Phœnicia; and Count Raymond hastened, with the son of the Prince of Antioch, and the whole of his cavalry, from Tyre to Tripoli. But he died suddenly soon after his arrival at the latter place; and the son of the Prince of Antioch succeeded to his dominions.

* Mark, viii. 27–31. † Reland. Pælestina, p. 918.

‡ Wilken Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, b. iii. p. 297.

When Saladin appeared before Tyre, he found it garrisoned by the flower of the Christian chivalry, and, despairing of success against such a body of warriors, he led his troops to Sarepta. This city, and soon after Sidon, Beirout, and Cæsarea by the sea, fell, almost without resistance, into his power. At length he arrived before Askelon; and here a small, but determined band of Christian warriors compelled him to pause in his career. Either dreading the consequences of delay, or from the nobler motives of humanity, he resolved, if possible, to accomplish by treaty what he could not immediately gain by force. The King of Jerusalem was now a prisoner at Damascus. Saladin ordered that he should be brought to his camp before Askelon. When the unfortunate prince arrived, the conqueror stated that he would grant him his freedom, and that of his brother Godfrey, Bishop of Lydda, if he would use his influence to effect the speedy surrender of Askelon. Guy of Lusignan had not sufficient force of character to resist such a proposal. He summoned some of the brave defenders of the city to his presence. "Far be it from me," he said, "to wish you, for the sake of one man, to deliver so important a Christian town into the hands of the heathen; but if you cannot effectually defend it, will it not be better to surrender it at once, when my freedom and that of my brother may be secured thereby, than vainly to prolong an ineffectual resistance, and thereby lose the advantage which is now offered?"

After consulting for some time together, the knights and citizens agreed that it would be better to yield to the king's suggestion. They, however, required, as the conditions of surrender, that twelve other prisoners of rank, besides the king and his brother, should be set free; that they should be allowed fourteen days for the sale of their goods, and a safe conduct to Tripoli, while it should also be allowed to a hundred Christian families to remain at Askelon under Saladin's protection. It is recorded, that while the aged citizens, to whom the conduct of this delicate affair was entrusted, were conferring with the sultan in his camp, the sun was suddenly obscured, and almost midnight darkness prevailed. The occurrence deeply affected almost every one present. It was felt as if nature herself sympathized with the homeless and helpless people. Saladin granted the most important of the requests made by the deputies from Askelon; but the freedom of the king was not to be granted till the following March. This continuance of his captivity was rendered necessary to Saladin by the fear which he entertained, that, if Guy were permitted to return to Jerusalem, his presence would add to the courage of the Christians and the prolongation of the war. He was appointed a residence at Nazareth.

Askelon having surrendered, all the smaller towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood hastily followed its example. Among those, the fate of which excited the most lively interest, was the castle of Kerac. The garrison of this fortress, commanded by a few brave knights, had held out for almost two years. Neither the continual attacks of the enemy, nor the severest privations, had

overcome the resolution of this devoted little band. Their bravery excited the respect and admiration of Saladin; and when they were at length compelled to yield to the power of famine, he treated them with the utmost respect; bestowed valuable presents upon them; gave them a safe conduct to their own countrymen; and took care to ransom for them the women and children who had been sold into slavery.

But powerful as was Saladin, he could not prevent the usual evils attending a fierce and destructive war. The whole country, from the Sea of Galilee to Jerusalem, lay prostrate under the scourge. He himself trembled for the fate of the holy city. Anxious, therefore, as he had been to secure the quiet surrender of Askelon, he was far more so to save Jerusalem from the horrors of a siege. To prove his sincerity in this respect, he sent numerous messages from his camp to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, offering them protection for a certain period, an abundant supply of their present wants, and whatever else might be necessary to ameliorate their circumstances, on the condition that they should finally deliver up the city into his hands. Deputies arrived in his camp on the very day on which Askelon surrendered. They brought an answer to his proposals from the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Desperate as was their state, they would not resign the city, consecrated by the sufferings of the Son of God, into the hands of the heathen. Saladin gave reins to his feelings of disappointment and indignation on receiving this reply. He said that, finding his clemency exercised in vain, he would hasten forward with his army and take the city by assault.

The bravest champions of the Christian cause had fallen in the battle of Huttin. Jerusalem was without a defender when Valian of Ibelin arrived at its gates. This warrior had been obliged to surrender his strong castle of Ibelin into the hands of Saladin. The conqueror had granted him his liberty, and permission to conduct his wife and children to Jerusalem.* This, however, was only allowed him on the promise that he would delay but a single night in the holy city, and never again bear arms against the Mussulmans. Misery and despair were seen in the countenances of the inhabitants when Valian of Ibelin thus entered Jerusalem. His presence excited a sudden feeling of hope and joy. His courage and ability as a soldier were universally known. It seemed to the people of Jerusalem as if he had been sent at that especial moment for their deliverance. They thronged around him, poured forth their eager congratulations at his appearance in the holy city, and at once proclaimed him their champion and protector. But these expressions of delight were soon silenced. Valian told them under what conditions he enjoyed his liberty, and had been allowed to accompany his wife and children to Jerusalem. By the rising of the morrow's sun he must turn his back upon the towers and gates of the sacred city. The few hours which he was allowed to spend with his family were precious; and he would fain have

* Wilken Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, t. III. b. ii. p. 300.

escaped the painful scene which, as the evening advanced, on all sides presented itself to his view. Weeping and supplicating crowds uttered loud lamentations when they found their hopes so suddenly destroyed. The old men of the city, the clergy and magistrates more dignified in their sorrow, stood consulting with each other as if divested of all care for themselves, of all earthly anxieties, and only desiring the safety of Jerusalem. Even the time-worn edifices which crowned the hill of Zion seemed, as the shades of evening fell upon them, to share in the sadness of the hour. The brave warrior would gladly have changed such a scene for the wildest of the battle-fields in which he had ever fought. He felt his own helplessness and the helplessness of those who so shortly before had viewed him as their deliverer. However powerful his arm, he could not raise it in their defence. His oath, and his gratitude for Saladin's generosity, alike prohibited his protracting his stay in the city beyond the following dawn.

At length some of the most venerable of the citizens approached him. They knew the pledge which he had given to Saladin. But could a Christian knight bind himself not to fight in defence of his faith? Or if he had done so, was there no power in the church to free him from such an unholy obligation? It was thus, unhappily, according to the taste of the age, the people of Jerusalem reasoned with the brave but ill-instructed warrior. His conscience and natural good sense long resisted the arguments with which he was thus assailed. At last, the patriarch Heraclius, a supplicant himself, came to the aid of the other supplicants. He was armed with arguments far mighter than any which had been yet advanced. Conscience, common-sense, the nice feeling of honour, the generous gratitude, which had hitherto protected the integrity of Valian, were all overpowered when Heraclius declared that he had the power to absolve him from the obligation of his oath, and that he would be guilty of a heinous offence if he did not avail himself of the proffered freedom.

Valian was too little skilled in scholastic reasoning, to be able to answer the arguments with which this appeal to his loyalty was accompanied. He obeyed the commands of the patriarch, and was immediately installed in the office of governor of Jerusalem, and commander of the little garrison which remained for its defence. With a lingering feeling of the debt which he owed to Saladin's magnanimity, he could not persuade himself to enter upon the duties of his new office, without informing him of what had taken place. In no instance, perhaps, was the nobility of Saladin's mind more remarkably evinced, than in his conduct on this occasion. Instead of vowing the destruction of the perjured knight, he found excuses for him on the plea of necessity; and with pleasure granted the desired escort to conduct his wife and children from Jerusalem to the safer fortress of Tripoli.

There was little to encourage Valian at the commencement of his labours. Of all the knights whose splendour and renown had given such lustre to the Christian power in Jerusalem, two only remained. The city, on the other hand, was crowded

with fugitives from all parts of the country, and for these it was almost impossible to provide either food or shelter. But Valian had been too long accustomed to toil and danger to yield while a single hope remained. He adopted, therefore, the best measures which circumstances would allow to prepare the city against Saladin's approach. Selecting from the younger citizens fifty of the best and the bravest, he conferred upon them the order of knighthood, and exhorted them to prove by their fortitude that they were worthy of this unexpected honour. Small bands of soldiers were then gathered together; and foraging parties were formed, whose duty it was to scour the country round, and supply the city with the provisions which might enable it to endure a protracted siege. A still bolder step was taken. The want of money could not be overcome by any of the methods above described. Representing, therefore, the necessity to the patriarch, Valian obtained his consent to strip the silver from the monuments at the holy sepulchre, and coin it into money. While such were the measures adopted by the people at Jerusalem, Saladin was collecting his forces from Galilee, and the other parts of the country, in order to lead them in a body to the attack of the holy city. The enthusiasm of his vast host was unbounded when the towers of Jerusalem arose to view. Could the siege have been commenced in that moment of intense delight, the Christians would in vain have opposed their feeble barriers to the onset. But Saladin encamped his army on the southern side of the city, and extended his lines from the tower of David, on the west, to the gate of St. Stephen, on the east. He still entertained the hope, it is said, that the city might surrender, and so spare him the necessity of taking it by force. But he was deceived in this hope; and for eight days the siege was carried on with skill and vigour. A noble and devoted resistance was opposed to these attacks of the Mussulman army. Every class of people in Jerusalem gladly bore a part in the conflict. Priests and monks, the most aged men, and even women and children, exhibited proofs of the most patient courage. Those who could not actually bear arms, employed themselves in performing some work necessary to the general good of the city; and in all the churches, and even in the streets, crowds of such people might be seen devoutly praying to Heaven for succour in this day of calamity.

At the end of the eighth day, Saladin saw that the siege must be indefinitely prolonged, if he continued the attack from his present disadvantageous position. He, therefore, broke up his camp, and removed his army to a spot on the northern side of the city. When the Christians first observed this movement, they were vain enough to entertain the idea that their resistance had worn out the patience of Saladin, and that he was about finally to retire from their walls. But their proud hope was soon converted into a feeling of despair. They beheld line after line of the fierce besiegers arranged in the most formidable position, along the adjacent slopes. The engines of war, which, owing to some difficulty in the ground, were almost powerless on the southern side of the city, now threatened destruction to the

imperfectly guarded walls. Extending from the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the monastery on Calvary, Saladin's army occupied the same position as that of the Crusaders, when, about a hundred years before, they so gloriously made themselves masters of Jerusalem.

Scarcely was the attack begun, when the hitherto resolved and courageous Christians resigned themselves to terror. Many of them endeavoured to escape from the city, but were driven back by the besiegers. Cries of despair resounded on all sides. Only thirty or forty men could be persuaded to retain their arms, and still attempt to defend the walls Valian and the patriarch now proclaimed by a herald, that they would give five thousand gold pieces to any fifty soldiers who would undertake to watch, during the night, the part of the walls which had been injured by the enemy's machines. But none could be found to accept the offer. Terrible was the suspense of the inhabitants during the hours of darkness. When the morning dawned, many of those who dreaded the recurrence of such a night, entreated Valian to lead them at once against the enemy, that they might die as men, and not witness the fall of the holy city. Others, of a different temperament, suggested, that Saladin might still, perhaps, be induced to grant them terms not altogether inconsistent, under their present circumstances, with their honour or fidelity.

The party which gave this less heroic advice prevailed. Valian and the patriarch Heraclius listened to the counsels which human prudence inspired; and they reminded those who were so eager to exhibit their valour and die, that by such a course they would be sacrificing not only themselves, but their wives and children, the weak and the aged; the great mass even of the Christians in Jerusalem. By these arguments, the most violent spirits were somewhat subdued, and Valian was requested to undertake the perilous task of presenting himself before Saladin, and offering to open the gates of Jerusalem, if the conqueror would grant the inhabitants certain conditions which they deemed essential to their safety.

Valian ventured to appear before Saladin. He was permitted to state the proposals with which he was intrusted. The conqueror listened impatiently to the conditions on which it was now offered to open the gates to his troops. Even at the moment when Valian was conversing with him, tidings were brought to the tent of fresh breaches being made in the walls. It seemed evident that the time for treaty was past. But when all seemed lost, the desperate courage of a little band of Christians created new doubts as to the real strength of the forces within the walls. Falling furiously on the Mussulmans nearest the breach, the devoted champions of the cross mowed them down like grass, and spread terror for the instant through all the neighbouring ranks. The intelligence of this occurrence reached Saladin's ears as rapidly as that which had flattered him with the hopes of immediate conquest. More inclined to spare than to destroy, he allowed the altered aspect of affairs to exercise its full influence on his counsels. He now listened

more calmly to the proposals of Valian, and he was directed to return to the camp the following day. Fearful work was wrought in the interval by the battering-rams, and other warlike machines of the besiegers. When Valian appeared before Saladin at the appointed hour, he found him cold and stern. He would listen to no terms, but demanded the immediate and unconditional surrender of the city. Grief almost overpowered the heart of the brave knight as he contemplated the threatened destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. He could no longer preserve his fortitude or his proud bearing; but, giving loose to his feelings, he pathetically besought the Sultan to have pity upon a people overwhelmed with such sorrows and calamities.

Saladin was deeply affected by this appeal, and exclaimed, "Well, then, for the love of God, and to please you, knight, let the people retain possession of their goods and property. They must themselves become mine, as the inhabitants of a conquered city; but I will allow them, as far as they are able, to purchase their freedom at a stipulated price." He then fixed the ransom of each man, whether poor or rich, at twenty pieces of gold; and that of a woman or child at ten pieces. Valian was too well acquainted with the poverty of the great mass of the people in Jerusalem to listen to these conditions without a further expression of affliction. There were but few, he said, who could pay such a sum for their ransom. Thousands of persons were now in the city who had fled thither from distant parts of the country; and not one in a hundred could raise twenty pieces of gold to save himself from slavery. Saladin listened mildly to this representation, and directing Valian to come to his tent the following day, promised to consider his statements.

When the knight related to the people, who were so anxiously waiting his appearance, the result of his interview with Saladin, most of them seemed to feel that their fate was sealed, and that they were about to be consigned to a hopeless slavery. The Patriarch Heraclius, it is said, expressed the deepest distress. He was filled with anguish at the thought of leaving any of his brethren in bondage to the infidel. But how or whence was a sum of money to be raised sufficient for the ransom of such a multitude? The only aid which could be depended upon in this necessity was a portion of the treasure which had been sent to Palestine by the King of England. It was in the hands of the Hospitallers, and the commander of the order readily agreed to give it up towards the ransom of the poorer Christians. But even this would afford little assistance, should Saladin insist upon a sum approaching that before named; and intense was the anxiety which prevailed when Valian, on the following morning, left the gates of Jerusalem for the Sultan's tent.

Saladin received the knight with courtesy. It was evidently his wish to grant the Christians the mildest terms which his duty to his own officers would allow. A rich booty was looked for by those who had so successfully fought under his standard; and, powerful as he was, he dared not altogether disappoint their expectations. Anxious to aid the one party and satisfy the other, Saladin now fixed the ransom of

each man at ten gold pieces; that of a woman at five; and of a child at one. Seven thousand of the poorest of the people were to be ransomed, in the mass, at a certain price, which Saladin, moved by the prayers of Valian, generously reduced to less than half the sum. Fourteen days were to be allowed the Christians to dispose of their property, and evacuate the city. Those who remained after that period were to be reduced to slavery; but Saladin made himself responsible for the safe conduct of all those whose ransom was paid, to Antioch or Alexandria, where they were to be allowed to remain till ships should arrive to convey them to Europe. Valian desired that two women and ten children should be reckoned for every man; and that a certain number of those accustomed to bear arms should be permitted to act as a guard to the rest during their journey.

Favourable as were the conditions gained for the helpless inhabitants of Jerusalem, Valian and the Patriarch Heraclius appeared in the eyes of many as betrayers of the holy city. They were even compared to Judas Iscariot, who sold the Saviour for gold; and loud and bitter were the expressions of horror which arose when the heralds paraded the streets, proclaiming the name of Saladin. The entrance of the Sultan was attended with great pomp and solemnity; and his standard soon floated proudly from the tower of David. Attended by a host of followers, the Mahommedan priests immediately proceeded to purify the holy places, the temple, and other edifices sacred in their sight, from the supposed pollution which they had contracted during the ninety years of the Christian domination. Five camels, laden with vessels full of rose-water, brought from Damascus for the purpose, arrived in time for this ceremony. The temple having been thoroughly washed with the perfumed water, the priests began their songs of jubilee, and the ears of the unhappy Christians were on all sides filled with the hateful cries of these erring worshippers. When the golden cross was removed from the temple, and trodden under foot by the Mussulmans, the indignation of the Christians knew no bounds; and it was only by the stern watchfulness of the guards, placed in every quarter of the city, that they were prevented from flying again to arms.

It may be supposed from the generosity of Saladin's character, that he but little encouraged proceedings which were calculated to add to the sorrows of the conquered and almost homeless people. Testimony is universally borne to his benevolence and sympathy; and it is acknowledged on all sides, that he did everything in his power to curb the violence of his haughty followers. He even shamed, it is said, by his compassionate generosity, the selfishness of many of the richer Christians. It was found that vast numbers of those who possessed ample means not only for their own ransom, but for that of others, were utterly regardless of the fate of their brethren, threatened with all the horrors of captivity and slavery, through want of the trifling sum demanded for their deliverance. Saladin himself furnished some of these poor neglected people with the means of providing for their ransom; and when he saw that neither his example nor their own conscience would

move the wealthy Christians to perform the duties of charity, he issued a decree, by which it was ordered that those who had money or goods, should carry nothing away with them but what was required for their support in their journey to Europe. But this command was easily evaded. The wealthy citizens, and the Knights Templars, and Hospitallers, found ready means of concealing their wealth; and the public fund, the basis of which was furnished by the gold of the English monarch, was only sufficient for the ransom of seven thousand of those who were supplicating in throngs not to be left in hopeless slavery.

The magnanimity of Saladin was shared by his brother Malek-al-Adel, and by many of his principal emirs. Malek having requested a thousand Christian prisoners to be given him as a portion of the spoils, he immediately set them at liberty, and without ransom. Several of the emirs acted in like manner; and fourteen hundred of the most miserable of the people were allowed to depart without paying any ransom, at the request of Valian and the Patriarch. Saladin seemed to revel in the contemplation of these instances of humanity; and one day, when he was surrounded by the great officers of his army, he exclaimed, "My brother, Malek-al-Adel, and the patriarch, and Valian have exercised their benevolence; and I will exercise mine." On saying this, he gave orders that the next morning, at sunrise, the gate of St. Stephen should be set open, and that all the poor Christians who, after strict examination, were found to possess no means of ransoming themselves, should be allowed to depart free.* With the first dawn of light multitudes of those so unexpectedly emancipated from a dreaded slavery assembled about the gate; and till it was closed at sun-set, the poorest and most destitute might be seen setting forth on one of the saddest and most perilous journeys ever commenced. Without the means of support, without the prospect of a home, these wretched wanderers had nothing to prevent them from yielding to despair but the feeling that they had escaped bondage to the infidel. This gave a firmness to the step of the feeblest among them. Most of them knew no other land but that from which they were now to depart. They looked towards the West, and the states of Christendom, with mingled sentiments of apprehension and hope. A life of strange excitement, of warfare and religion, of devout wanderings, of labours undertaken in the expectation of divine rewards—all this had but little fitted them to engage in the enterprises, or submit to the toils, of the cold, vulgar world. Even those who had the stoutest hearts could not repress a sigh, as they contemplated their arrival in places from which their homes and families, and even their names, probably, had long passed away. But still there was something to encourage them. They had breathed the air of the Holy Land; their poverty

* Even after this act of generosity (Wilken, b. iv. c. v. p. 315) eleven thousand Christians still remained for whom no ransom could at the time be paid. Saladin probably considered that some effort ought at least to be made by the states of Christendom in favour of these captives.

and sufferings were consecrated; and when they reached the noble cities of the West, there would surely be those who would hail them as objects of their loftiest sympathy. Little did these poor outcasts imagine that it would only be when they passed within the borders of Christendom that their destitution would present itself in all its actual horrors.

Consideration and mercy marked the conduct of Saladin to the last act which he had to perform, in respect to the conquered people. The widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the battle of Huttin were assembled in large numbers in Jerusalem. No ransom was demanded of them; but they were utterly helpless. Saladin saw this; and immediately provided for their necessities out of his own purse. The wives and children of the knights and others who had been taken prisoners in the same battle felt themselves almost in a more deplorable condition. They were to commence their journey alone and unprotected. They were to leave behind them husbands and fathers, never to be seen again. Broken-hearted, they lingered about the gate opened to give them freedom. The Sultan's generosity had supplied them with what was immediately necessary for their journey. Still they delayed. Their grief was too heavy a burden for their womanly hearts. They would have prayed to remain in captivity, had bondage brought with it no fear of shame or dishonour. Saladin saw their anguish. He could not resist the appeal; and, giving reins at once to his sympathy, he liberated their husbands and fathers, and sent them, glowing with gratitude, to be the protectors of those whose fate, till this moment, had been to them a source of the keenest anxiety and suffering.

Foreseeing the dangers which the travellers would have to encounter on the way, Saladin provided for their safety by dividing them into four bands; and sending them different roads. At the head of two were Valian and the Patriarch Heraclius. The other divisions were commanded by the Templars and Hospitallers. Still further to protect them, the Sultan gave each band an escort of his own soldiers; and so well, it is said, did the brave and generous Mussulmans fulfil the wish of their sovereign, that the Christians suffered no harm whatever as long as they were under their protection. Instances even of the purest compassion were frequently exhibited on the part of these haughty warriors. When any of the Christians became faint from the length of the way, some one or other of the soldiers would descend from his horse, and resign it for the use of the poor exile. The children of the party might generally be seen mounted before the Mussulmans, and guarded by them with the tenderest care. Nothing, in short, could exceed the humanity of these men; and bitter as was the task for the old chroniclers to record the overthrow of the Christian dominion in Palestine, they bear witness, in the strongest terms, to the noble conduct of both Saladin and his people.

The sufferings of the Christians, as has been already intimated, really commenced when they arrived in the provinces belonging to their brethren. Even Queen

Sibylla was deprived at Tyre of the ship with which she was furnished for her voyage to Europe. The poorer travellers were stripped by the Count of Tripoli of the little money which they possessed through the generosity of Saladin; and had not the mercy of the Mussulman commander at Alexandria been exercised in their behalf, hordes of Christian exiles must have perished of want. Protected during the winter by this benevolent chief, when the spring arrived, and vessels entered the ports from Venice, Genoa, and other provinces of the West, they were sent on board these ships, and the Mussulman governor, with stern looks and words, announced to the captains, that for any harm which the defenceless Christians might suffer at their hands, he would inflict tenfold vengeance on the merchants who might afterwards appear in Alexandria.

Such were the immediate results of the battle of Huttin; of those events which gave a new interest to the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and the consequences of which extended, as we have seen, to Jerusalem itself. The next stage in the history of the Crusades makes us acquainted with events of no less importance to Palestine, so dear to our thoughts in all its varieties of fortune. Again in the power of the infidel, the states of Europe appear to have regarded it once more with those deep feelings of enthusiasm and reverence which had fallen asleep in the days of success and triumph. It is far from improbable that divine wisdom might employ the sentiments which the fate of this country from time to time excited, to the higher purposes of providence; and that when Europe was called upon to mourn the new captivity of the Holy Land, it was undergoing a discipline and preparation for enterprises connected with the moral advancement of the world at large.

FROM THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS TO SAMARIA.

No part of Galilee can be accounted as equal in interest to the Lake of Tiberias and its environs. Our Lord's frequent presence on its shores; the miracles which he performed there; his discourses, so sublime and tender, gave a sanctity to the scenes around, with which pious memories will continue to invest them to the end of time. We have followed his footsteps to the somewhat remote district of Cæsarea-Philippi. This was probably near the boundary of his journeyings in that direction. We are now to visit another part of the country, and one the name of which, though not so powerfully associated with the grander events of sacred story, yet brings to our own thoughts, scenes and occurrences of considerable interest.

Samaria was anciently the name of a mountain, then of a city, and at length of a whole district. This district lies immediately between Galilee and Judæa, and was consequently traversed periodically by the inhabitants of the former region in their way to Jerusalem at the time of the great festivals. It is not to be compared in extent with either of the other divisions of Palestine; but in its general character and condition seems little different from the more southern region.* According to Josephus, its boundary at the one extremity was near the town of Ginea or Jenin in the plain, and by the other, at the toparchy of Acrabatene. The Jews, in speaking of their country, were in the habit of omitting any mention of Samaria, enumerating only Judæa, Galilee, and Peræa.† But though thus expressing their contempt for the district, they never regarded it in the light of a heathen land, but reputed the soil, the roads, and the wells, holy. Hence our Lord, in asking water of the woman of Samaria, committed no offence against the prejudices of his people. He might drink of the water of the well though in the very heart of this despised region.

Soon after the commencement of the captivity of the ten tribes, constituting the kingdom of Israel, a people called Cuthæans, from the interior of Persia and Media, were sent by the conqueror to inhabit the waste and depopulated country. These strangers brought with them the religion of their native land; and, mingling with the poor remnant of the Israelites left behind, or who had been allowed to return, they instituted, by the help of a priest, a form of worship which exhibited a strange combination of truth, error, and superstition. In the time of Alexander

* Quaresmius Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio, t. i. p. 15.

† Reland, Palæstina, lib. i. p. 179; lib. iii. p. 979.

tne Great, Sanballat, the then governor of the Samaritans, obtained permission to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim, and appointed his son-in-law—who, though the s on of Jaddua, the high-priest at Jerusalem, had taken up his abode in Samaria—high-priest of the new sanctuary. This completed the sum of offences which the Samaritans had committed against the Jews; and hence the burning hostility of feeling manifested on so many occasions between the two people. "Such," says Josephus, "is the disposition of the Samaritans, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune has befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh."*

The Samaritans suffered severely in the wars which attended, and succeeded the fall of the Jewish nation. But they still retained their ancient position, and exhibited no less virulence in after times against the Christians settled in their neighbourhood than the Jews themselves. About the close of the sixth century, they attacked them with sanguinary fury, and endeavoured to expel them from the province. A still more violent onset took place some time after, when a party of people from Cæsarea, who had travelled to Sichem, professed themselves converted by the discourses of the Christian teachers. Many thousands of persons perished in the struggle which ensued. The land was left untilled; and it required the exercise of imperial power to save the entire country from ruin.

Samaria, the capital city of this division of the country, was built by Omri, king of Israel; of whom it is said that he bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, Samaria.† Ahab adorned it according to his own luxurious taste; and the vices which were rampant within its walls, at length brought down upon it the signal vengeance of Heaven. "I will smite," were the words of prophecy, "the winter-house with the summer-house, and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end, saith the Lord." This prophecy was fulfilled with the most terrific exactness. The siege of Samaria by Benhadad, king of Syria, was accompanied by circumstances, only one of which is sufficient to reveal all the horrors of that event: "There was a great famine in Samaria," it is emphatically said. "And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king! And he said, If the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn floor, or out of the wine-press? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day; and we will eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him; and I said unto her, on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son. And it came to pass, when the king heard the words of the

* Antiq. b. xi. c. 8. † 1 Kings xvi. 24.

woman, that he rent his clothes, and he passed by upon the wall, and the people looked, and behold he had sackcloth within upon his flesh."*

It was not, however, till long after this, that the city of Samaria was taken and levelled with the dust, by the armies of Esarhaddon. From this state of desolation it again arose, and remained a flourishing city till it was reduced in the wars of the Maccabees, by Hyrcanus, who let in the torrents from the neighbouring hills, and once more left it in ruins. But its ancient renown and noble position for defence induced Herod to rebuild it. From him it received the name of Sebaste, that is, Augusta, in honour of his patron the Emperor Augustus; and it now again became a place of great strength and importance.

In the account which Mr. Elliot has given of his journey from Nazareth to Sebaste, he says, "The first view of the representative of the famous capital of the kings of Israel is very imposing. It is built on a high semi-spherical mount, standing alone in a valley encompassed by hills, and covered with terraces, of which we counted sixteen rising one above another. When each of these was defended with all the valour of the Israelitish host, in the days of their glory, and when the art of war was yet in its infancy, it can readily be conceived that a city so circumstanced must have been almost impregnable. On the north-east, about half-way between the summit and the base of the hill, eighteen limestone columns are still standing, which seem to have formed part of a parallelogram, whose dimensions were about a hundred and eighty by eighty yards. On the top are two more parallel lines of pillars, the one containing six, the other seven, in a comparatively perfect state. They are all without capitals, but appear to belong to the Doric order, and were doubtless erected by Herod. On the opposite side, on one of the highest terraces, are two rows of limestone columns, distant from each other about twenty yards, the one containing twenty-one, the other fifty-six. These seem to have formed a double colonnade, the present ruins of which are scattered over a space nearly a quarter of a mile in length; nor is it easy to determine whether it originally extended all round the mountain, which at that distance from the summit may be a mile and a half in circumference, or whether it only adorned the chief street of the city."†

Even in the time of Peré de Naud and d'Arvieux, the ancient Samaria, or Sebaste, had left only scattered traces of its ancient magnificence.‡ The hill on which it stood was long ago covered with gardens and orchards, and its tranquil aspect presented then, as now, a strange contrast to that which it must have exhibited when covered with the splendid terraces, the turreted walls, and the castles and palaces of the august city.

It was in one of the towers, on the eastern side of the walls, if tradition speak true, that John the Baptist was imprisoned; when Herod, in the midst of feasting

* 2 Kings vi. 25.

† Travels in the Three Great Empires, vol. ii. p. 381.

‡ Maundrell, p. 58. Both this traveller and Pietro della Valle, state that these remains, though few, gave signs of a more than ordinary splendour. Viaggi. t. i. p. 325.

and revelry, sent the executioner to put him to death. The Empress Helena built a beautiful church over the spot, consecrated, it was said, by the ashes not only of John the Baptist, but of Elisha and Obadiah. When the Chevalier d'Arvieux visited the place, the tomb could only be seen through a narrow iron grating; but the curious stone door which then protected it has been thrown down, and lies in fragments near the entrance. Enough of the church remains to give an idea of its original extent and magnificence. The great altar towards the east, with its dome supported by marble columns, of the Corinthian order, are still sufficiently entire to excite the admiration of travellers. A mosque has been formed of the western end of the edifice, and Christians and Turks are said to share the building between them.*

Independent of the tradition respecting John the Baptist, the site of the ancient city of Samaria is interesting from its having been so early an object of care to the first teachers of the gospel. The labours of Philip the evangelist, the affectionate zeal of those by whom the success of his first efforts was secured, and the thankful devotion of the people themselves, prove the important position which Samaria then spiritually enjoyed in the eye of heaven.

We have spoken of Samaria first because of its ancient rank as the capital of the country known by the same name. Some travellers also have visited it, in their way from Galilee, before proceeding to Sichem. But the latter is the city which the pilgrim may be supposed to have first sought on his way from the Lake of Tiberias; and to that we now direct our attention.

Dr. Clarke travelled in the year 1801 from Nazareth to Samaria, and his account of the country through which he passed is highly picturesque and interesting. Passing over the plain of Esdraelon, and by the ruins of Jennin, already described, he and his party arrived at the ancient castle of Santorri, situated on a hill, and much resembling, he says, the old castellated buildings in England. "Having ascended to the castle," he continues, "we were admitted within the gate, beneath a vaulted passage, quite dark from its tortuous length and many windings. In the time of the Crusades, it must have been impregnable; yet is there no account of it in any author, and certainly it is not of later construction than the period of the holy wars. The governor received us into a large vaulted chamber, resembling what is called the keep in some of our old Norman castles, which it so much resembled, that if we consider the part acted by the Normans in these wars, it is possible this building may have owed its origin to them. A number of weapons, such as guns, pistols, sabres, and poignards, hung round the walls. Suspended with these, were the saddles, gilded stirrups, and rich housings, belonging to the lord of the citadel. Upon the floor were couched his greyhounds; and his hawkers stood waiting in the yard before the door of the apartment; so that everything contributed to excite

* D'Arvieux. Memoires, p. 86.

ideas of other times, and a scene of former ages seemed to be realized before our eyes. The figure of the governor himself was not the least interesting part of the living picture. He had a long red beard, and wore a dress as distinguished by feudal magnificence and military grandeur as it is possible to imagine. He received us with the usual hospitality of his countrymen; dismissed the escort which had accompanied us; seemed proud of placing us under the protection of his peculiar soldiers; and allowed us a guard, appointed from his own troops, to insure our safety as far as Napolose. We had some conversation with him upon the disordered state of the country, particularly of Galilee. He said that the rebel Arabs were in great number upon all the hills near the plain of Esdraelon; that they were actuated at this critical juncture by the direst motives of revenge and despair, for the losses they had sustained in consequence of the ravages committed by Djezzar's army; but that he believed we should not meet with any molestation in our journey to Jerusalem." *

The road from the castle of Santorri to Napolose, Nablouse, or Neapolis, the Sichem of former times, passes over a rough and mountainous tract of country. When Maundrell visited this place in 1697, he found it in a very mean condition, though with a large population, and consisting mainly of two streets, running parallel to each other under Mount Gerizim. In his other mention of the city, he says, "It stands in a narrow valley between Mount Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north, being built at the foot of the former, for so the situation both of the city and mountain is laid down by Josephus. Gerizim," he adds, "hangeth over Sichem; and Moses commanded to erect an altar towards the east, not far from Sichem, between Mount Gerizim, on the right hand (that is, to one looking eastward, on the south) and Ebal on the left (that is, on the north) which so plainly assigns the position of these two mountains, that it may be wondered how geographers should come to differ so much about it; or for what reason Adrichomius should place them both on the same side of the valley of Sichem."†

An old Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, traversed this same district in the year 1616. Having described the country around as most beautiful and fertile, he says, "that he found the city Napolosa exceedingly well inhabited." ‡ According to Dr. Clarke's account, a great improvement must have taken place in the external appearance of Sichem since the time of Maundrell. "The view of this place," says the former, "much surprised us, as we had not expected to find a city of such magnitude in the road to Jerusalem. It seems to be the metropolis of a very rich and

* Travels, Part II. p. 508. Buckhardt says, that the villages belonging to this district can raise an army of five thousand men. He adds, they are a restless people, continually in dispute with each other, and frequently in insurrection against the Pasha. Djezzar never succeeded in completely subduing them; and Junot, with a corps of fifteen hundred French soldiers, was defeated by them. P. 342.

† Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, 1697, March 24th.

‡ *Habitata honestamente.* Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Il Pellegrino. Roma, 1662, p. 322.

extensive country, abounding with provisions and all the necessary articles of life, in much greater profusion than the town of Acre. White bread was exposed for sale in the streets, of a quality superior to any that is to be found elsewhere throughout the Levant. The governor of Napolose received and regaled us with all the magnificence of an Eastern sovereign. Refreshments of every kind known in the country were set before us; and when we supposed the list to be exhausted, a most sumptuous dinner was brought in."

"There is nothing in the Holy Land," continues the writer, "finer than the view of Napolose, from the heights around it. As the traveller descends towards it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers; half concealed by rich gardens and by stately trees, collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands. Trade seems to flourish among its inhabitants. Their principal employment is in making soap; but the manufactures of the town supply a very widely extended neighbourhood, and they are exported to a great distance upon camels. In the morning after our arrival, we met caravans coming from Grand Cairo, and noticed others reposing in the large olive-plantations near the gate."

Pietro della Valle states that Sichem, in his time, was the principal seat of the Samaritans; but that there was a saying common amongst the Jews, that, in whatever place they made their abode, they could never reach to the number of ten families.*

The same Pietro della Valle used great efforts while at Sichem to obtain a copy of the Scriptures in use among the Samaritans. The French ambassador at Constantinople had earnestly requested him to spare no pains in seeking to make this acquisition; and Pietro remarks, that he had good reason for this anxiety on the subject, for that in those ancient copies of the Scriptures, written in the Samaritan character, the pure and faithful sincerity of the text might be preserved in passages which, it was possible, had been corrupted by the Jews since the death of Christ. Maundrell was also engaged in some interesting inquiries while at Sichem. "Upon one of these mountains, Ebal or Gerizim," he says, "God commanded the children of Israel to set up great stones, plastered over and inscribed with the body of their law; and to erect an altar, and to offer sacrifices, feasting and rejoicing before the Lord. But now whether *Gerizim* or *Ebal* was the place appointed for this *solemnity*, there is some cause to doubt. The Hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, assigns *Mount Ebal* for this use, but the Samaritan asserts it to be Gerizim."

Respecting this matter, Maundrell entered into conversation with the chief-priest of the Samaritans. This priest, it is said, "pretended that the Jews had maliciously altered their text, out of odium to the Samaritans, putting for *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, upon no other account, but only because the Samaritans worshipped on the former mountain, which they would have, for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by

* Viaggi, p. 323.

God for his worship and sacrifice. To confirm this, he pleaded that *Ebal* was the mountain of cursing; (Deut. xi. 29;) and in its own nature an unpleasant place; but, on the contrary, *Gerizim* was the mountain of blessing, by God's own appointment, and also in itself fertile and delightful; from whence he inferred the probability that this latter must have been the true mountain appointed for those religious festivals; and not, as the Jews have corruptly written it, *Ebal*. We observed it to be in some measure true, that which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains; for though neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to its pleasantness, yet as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a somewhat more verdant, fruitful aspect than *Ebal*. The reason of which may be, because, fronting towards the north, it is sheltered from the heat of the sun by its own shade; whereas *Ebal*, looking southward, and receiving the sun that comes directly upon it, must in consequence be rendered more scorched and unfruitful. The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones which God directed Joshua to set up *were now* to be seen in Mount Gerizim; which, were they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side." * Like Pietro della Valle, Maundrell was unsuccessful in his attempt to obtain a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch; he adds, however, a circumstance which gives us but a poor idea of the value of the priest's knowledge; for he says, "The priest showed me a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but would not be persuaded to part with it upon any consideration. He had likewise the first volume of the English Polyglot, which he seemed to esteem equally with his own manuscript."

When Mr. Elliott visited Nablouse,† he was shown in the synagogue of the Samaritans a copy of the Pentateuch on two rollers, which the priest and others declared to be the oldest manuscript in the world. According to their statement, it was written by Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazer, the son of Aaron. Mr. Elliott says that it bears marks of great age, and is patched in different places with pieces of parchment. "Some of the learned," he adds, "are of opinion that it is only a transcript from Ezra's copy, written again in the old Hebrew or Phœnician letter, out of which Ezra transcribed it into that of the Chaldeans, then first adopted, and since commonly used by the Jews. Others are disposed to regard it as an independent record, which has been preserved ever since the days of Jeroboam, first by the ten revolting tribes, and subsequently by the Samaritans."

The opinions here alluded to respecting the copy of the Pentateuch in use among the Samaritans, have been modified and multiplied in the course of critical debate. But of late years, the value assigned to the decision of the learned German scholar Gesenius, has almost silenced the controversy. According to the inquiries of this profound critic, the Samaritan copy of the five books of Moses possesses no value as a guide in determining the correct reading of the ancient Scriptures. But still

* Journey, p. 60. † Travels, vol. ii. p. 397.

it is a precious relic of antiquity; and, differing so little as it does, and that in no important matter, from the Hebrew Pentateuch, it affords an unquestionable testimony to the general integrity of the Bible as we now possess it.

It is only in Nablouse that Samaritans, properly so called, are now to be found. But, few as they are in number, they retain all the peculiarities of their ancestors, and illustrate, in a very remarkable manner, some of the most interesting passages of the New Testament. During the middle ages, their existence as a distinct people appears to have attracted little notice. They shared with the other inhabitants of Palestine the evils which war, and its attendant convulsions, brought upon the land; nor was it till the latter half of the sixteenth century, that European scholars began to feel any curiosity respecting their character or customs. Julius Scaliger, a man of great erudition, led the way in the inquiries now commenced. He impressed upon the minds of contemporary scholars, the importance of obtaining a copy of that portion of the Scriptures which the Samaritans possessed in the original character; the character, that is, which the Hebrews used before the captivity; after which, as is well known, they employed that of the Chaldees. Scaliger's wish was furthered by the old Italian traveller whom we have quoted, Pietro della Valle. This zealous and devout pilgrim, as he loved to call himself, after failing to procure a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch at Cairo, Gaza, or Nablouse, was rewarded for his labour by obtaining at Damascus both a copy of the Pentateuch itself, in the Samaritan character, and also a Samaritan version of that portion of Scripture.* Our own venerable Archbishop Usher procured at great expense six copies of this Pentateuch; and ten others were subsequently obtained by English scholars, or through their instrumentality.

It is an interesting fact, that the Samaritans have listened eagerly, at different times, to reports respecting the existence of remnants of their race in other parts of the world. At present it is said, the only Samaritans in the world are at Nablouse; and their number amounts to no more than eighty persons.† Several were formerly to be found in Cairo, and various provinces of the East; and it was at one time reported that traces of them were discovered in European countries. A correspondence was commenced with the Samaritans of Nablouse and Cairo by the indefatigable Joseph Scaliger. His letters were answered; but such was the imperfect means of communication in those times between distant countries, that more than twenty years elapsed before the epistles written by the Samaritans reached the hands of any one competent to give them to the public.

Rather more than sixty years after the death of Joseph Scaliger, Robert Huntington,‡ who, like Maundrell, was chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo,

* The former of these he gave to the French ambassador, who sent it as a present to the fathers of the Oratoire de Saint-Honoré. Memoire sur l'Etat Actuel des Samaritains, par M. de Sacy, p. 14.

† Elliott. Travels, vol. ii. p. 392.

‡ Memoire sur l'Etat des Samarit, p. 16.

made a journey to Jerusalem, and entered, on his arrival at Nablouse, into a long conference with the Samaritans of that city. The interest which he appeared to take on the subject of their worship and customs, struck the Samaritans with astonishment, and they asked him if there were any Israelites in his own country.* He replied in the affirmative; but it is somewhat difficult to understand in what sense he gave this answer; whether, that is, he understood the word Israelite in its most extended sense; or, whether he really believed that there were at that time Samaritans in the British isles. Having, however, heard his reply, they put a manuscript in his hand, and their surprise was redoubled when they saw that he could read their characters. Convinced by this circumstance that there were Israelites in England, they had also no longer any doubt but that these Israelites were their brethren. Huntington, taking advantage of this notion, advised them to write to these their supposed brethren; to state to them the principal points of their religion, especially those which distinguished them from the Jews; and to send with their letter a copy of the Law written in the Samaritan character. They immediately gave him the latter, and eight days after, sent the letter after him to Jerusalem which they had written to their brethren in England. Both the letter and the manuscript were subsequently transmitted to Thomas Marshall, the learned rector of Exeter College, Oxford. This accomplished scholar answered the letter, and the Samaritans were sufficiently encouraged by the notice which they received, to continue the correspondence for several years. Ludolf, a learned German of Francfort, also opened a correspondence with them in 1684, and two letters were received by him, written in the Hebrew language, but the Samaritan character.

After a long interval, during which this interesting subject was almost entirely neglected, the attention of European scholars was again directed to the inquiry, by the zeal of M. Gregoire, a French prelate, who obtained from the various consuls sent by his government to the East, in 1808, many valuable notices respecting the state of the Samaritans. The communications which passed between the persons employed by the French authorities and the Samaritans, were at length committed to the care of the celebrated orientalist, de Sacy. On these he founded a memoire, and certain questions, which he addressed to the Samaritan priest, Salaméh, son of Tobias; and the answer which he received affords the best information we can expect to obtain respecting this remarkable people.†

From the abstract which M. de Sacy has given of the matters contained in the

* A very curious account of the Samaritans is given by Sir John Maundevill, in his "Voiage and Travaile," written in the fourteenth century. He speaks particularly of their belief in only one God; of their holding the Bible, "after the letter, and *using the Psautere as the Jewes doe;* of their regarding themselves as the right sons of God, and being his best beloved among all other folk; and of their believing that to them belongeth the heritage which he has appointed for his beloved children." He also mentions their difference of dress, and their red turbans. C. ix. p. 109.

† Memoire, p. 37.

priest's letter, we learn that the Samaritans retain in all its strictness, the belief in only one God, to whom alone they render divine worship. The reports which had been spread accusing them of having a dove on their altar, or on the curtains or cover of the Law, and to which they were said to bow, are indignantly confuted; and the priest demands, how it is possible we should admit such an abomination into the house of God?

To the inquiry which M. de Sacy made respecting their continued use of sacrifices, he received for answer, that that part of their worship had, with one exception, ceased, since the end of the time of grace, and the disappearance of the Tabernacle. It is added, that their pontiffs, the priests of the family of Aaron, have substituted for the oblation of sacrifices the recital of certain prayers, which they have composed for the use of the faithful, and to enable them to honour God, and pray rightly for mercy, and the pardon of their sins. But the sacrifice of the Passover is still observed with all its rites. It can only be legitimately offered on Mount Gerizim; but about twenty-five years before the period when Salaméh's letter was written, the Samaritans were prevented from ascending this mountain, and they have since then offered the sacrifice within the city, encouraging themselves with the belief, that it forms a part of the *holy place.* In the act of killing the victim they turn themselves towards the mountain. They do the same in their solemn prayers, because that mountain, they say, is the house of the Almighty, the tabernacle of His angels, the place of the presence of His majesty, and the place appointed for sacrifices.

To the question, whether the paschal lamb must be of any particular kind, no answer was given; but to that respecting the bitter herbs eaten with it, Salaméh replied, that the Samaritans eat it with bitter herbs and unleavened bread.

Many learned men, says M. de Sacy, have supposed that the Samaritans do not believe in angels, or in a resurrection, and eternal rewards and punishment. He, therefore, put direct questions on these subjects. On the first, Salaméh answers, "We believe in the holy angels, which are in heaven." On the latter, he says, "With regard to that which you observe in relation to the dead, that they will arise at the day of judgment, we acknowledge the truth of this doctrine." This is followed by a quotation from one of their prayers, and by passages from the Song of Moses; the only testimony, it is observed, which, receiving the Pentateuch, and not the other Scriptures, they could adduce in illustration of their belief.

The inquiries which M. de Sacy made as to their notions of the Messiah were very imperfectly satisfied. They appear to have confounded the Shiloh promised as a conqueror and deliverer, with some enemy of their race. Some have supposed that Solomon, others that Christ was pointed at, in their allusions to this subject; but they evidently share with the Jews the darkest of prejudices in reference to the Saviour of the human race.*

* Memoires sur l'Etat actuel des Samaritains.

Of their notions respecting the law written in their own peculiar character, we have already spoken. Some other points of less importance are noticed in the Memoir drawn up by M. de Sacy. Thus, in respect to marriage, they appear to be very doubtful as to the lawfulness of polygamy. Yielding to the corrupt influences of their age and country, they permit a man to marry two wives in the first instance; but if either of these wives die, the widower must remain for the rest of his life contented with the one left, unless she also die, when he is again permitted to make a double marriage.* A peculiar sacredness is considered to pertain to their houses and synagogues. The latter retain more of the character of the ancient tabernacle than the Jews allow to their synagogues. This, perhaps, may be accounted for partly by the circumstance above alluded to, the proximity of the city of the Samaritans to Mount Gerizim; and still more by the belief prevailing among them, that their priests are regularly descended from the family of Aaron.

When, in the correspondence last alluded to, they were informed that none of their brethren now existed in any European country, they replied that such could not be the case; for that a hundred years back they had received information of many of their race and communion dwelling in a land which they named Askenaz, supposed to be Genoa, or some part of Germany. There is something sad and affecting in the passionate desire of this littlere mnant of a once mighty people to prove themselves not alone in the world. Happy would it be for them were the light to dawn upon their darkness, and lead them to the true Israel of God!

While Napoli, Nablouse, or Sichem, is itself thus interesting as reminding us of the times when it was the capital† of a still powerful, though degenerate people, the mind contemplates with a far deeper interest, the pastoral scenes by which it is surrounded, and over which the spirit of old tradition broods with so holy a delight. It was in its green valleys, on the sunny slopes of its hills, and along its fertile plains, that the fathers of God's chosen people fed their flocks.‡ Fountains and rivulets without number irrigate this verdant tract of land; and it was this, it is said, which Jacob rejoiced, with his last blessing, to bestow upon Joseph, when after assuring him that God would bring him back to the land of his fathers, he added: "I give thee a portion above thy brethren; which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow."§ And here repose the remains of Joseph, the greatest of the characters in the ancient history of the world, when compared with kings and statesmen. His sepulchre is in the narrow valley, between Gerizim and Ebal, just outside the city, and occupying a portion of the ground purchased by Jacob of Hamor, the father of Shechem.‖ A small mosque points out the spot, venerated, it is said, with equal ardour by Jews, Samaritans, Mussulmans, and Christians.¶

* Memoires, p. 57.

† This it became after the fall of Samaria. The present town is generally believed to occupy a position further westward in the valley than the ancient Israelitish city. Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b. iii. p. 142.

‡ Gen. xxxvii. 12. § Gen. xlviii. 21, 22. ‖ Gen. xxxiii. 19. ¶ Maundrell, Elliott.

Other tombs are also pointed out to the devout notice of the pilgrim. Eleazar, the son of Aaron, and Joshua, that mightiest, holiest, and most victorious of captains, were here gathered to their fathers; and as the mind contemplates their last resting-place, it is stirred with a profound feeling of the past; of the ages in which the instruments of divine power had more of the lustre about them of a divine heroism.

Jacob's well is on the road to Jerusalem, about twenty minutes distance from the town, at the extremity of the valley of Shechem. Maundrell says: "If it should be questioned whether this be the very well which it is represented to be, seeing it may be suspected to stand too remote from Sychar for women to come so far to draw water, it is answered, that probably the city extended further this way in former times than it does now, as may be conjectured from some pieces of a very thick wall, still to be seen not far from hence. Over the well there stood formerly a large church, erected by that great and devout patroness of the Holy Land, the Empress Helena. But of this the voracity of time, assisted by the hands of the Turks, has left nothing but a few foundations remaining.* The well is covered at present with an old stone vault, into which you are let down through a very strait hole; and then removing a broad flat stone, you discover the mouth of the well itself. It is dug in a firm rock, and is about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth; five of which we found full of water. This confutes a story commonly told to travellers, who do not take the pains to examine the well, namely, that it is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of that day on which our blessed Saviour sat upon it, when it bubbles up with abundance of water."

Pietro della Valle, who visited the spot above eighty years before Maundrell,† describes the well as almost entirely hidden and buried by the rubbish which the people of the neighbourhood had thrown over it, to prevent their cattle from falling in.‡ Mr. Elliott found it dry, and partially choked with the ruins of the building said to have been built by Helena. He adds his reasons for believing it to be the well by which our Lord conversed with the woman of Samaria. "First," he says, "springs supplied by mountain-streams generally find their exit in a valley. Secondly, our Lord was travelling from the holy city into Galilee, when he halted to refresh himself, and must necessarily have passed this way. And, thirdly, the scene of his conversation with the woman is placed near Sychar, which, there is little doubt, stood on the hill, directly above the reputed well."§ Dr. Clarke says, eloquently, "The spot is so distinctly marked by the evangelist, and so little liable

* The venerable Bede describes the well as at that time within a church built in the form of a cross; and in the year 740, Bishop Willibald performed his devotions in the sacred edifice. Brocardus in 283, mentions the fountain, but not the church. Quaresmius, Historica Elucidatio, t. ii. lib. vii. c. v.

† Journey, p. 61. ‡ Viaggi. b. ii. p. 325.

§ Travels, vol. ii. p. 390. Those who are interested in the early history of the church, will feel an additional degree of veneration for Sichem, arising from the fact that it was the birth-place of the venerable Justin Martyr.

to uncertainty from the circumstance of the well itself, and the features of the country, that if no tradition existed for its identity, the site of it could hardly be mistaken. Perhaps no Christian scholar ever attentively read the fourth chapter of St. John without being struck with the numerous internal evidences of truth which crowd upon the mind in its perusal. Within so small a compass it is impossible to find in other writings so many sources of reflection and of interest. Independently of its importance as a theological document, it concentrates so much information, that a volume might be filled with the illustration which it reflects on the history of the Jews, and on the geography of their country. The journey of our Lord from Judæa into Galilee; the cause of it; his passage through the territory of Samaria; his approach to the metropolis of this country; its name; his arrival at the Amorite field, which terminates the narrow valley of Sichem; the ancient custom of halting at a well; the female employment of drawing water; the disciples sent into the city for food, by which its situation out of the town is obviously implied; the question of the woman, referring to existing prejudices which separated the Jews from the Samaritans; the depth of the well; the oriental allusion contained in the expression, *living water;* the history of the well, and the customs thereby illustrated; and the worship upon Mount Gerizim; all occur within the space of twenty verses."*

But affecting as are the associations connected with the view of Sichem, there is one feeling which they excite more powerful than all the rest. Neither the dispensations of Providence, nor the calls of Divine love, have availed to move the proud hearts of the people inhabiting that city set upon a hill. They are a monument and a spectacle to the world of error the most unteachable; of misfortunes the most afflicting. From age to age their numbers have been decreasing; like the soil on the once beautiful terraces which the storms of successive ages have worn away, leaving but the bare rock, the families of Israel have been swept along by the flood of time, or the desolating stream of war and revolution. There was nothing to build them up; and all that is left of them is but the remnant which seems, like Ebal or Gerizim, only spared to mark a particular province in the Divine dispensations. Through this, they have a root and foundations which no storm can shake; and as the bare rock, with the dews of heavenly blessing upon it, may once more rejoice in beauty, so may this now despised race again prove their title to reverence as a part of God's elect people, and take their station among the hosts of Israel.

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 516. Schubert also very beautifully describes the whole of the scenery about Sichem. Reise in das Morgenland, b. iii. p. 152.

FROM SAMARIA TO JERUSALEM.

The Chevalier d'Arvieux remarks, in the account of his journey through Samaria,* that he was struck with the apparently defenceless state of the towns and villages. Upon inquiry, however, he found that they were not so absolutely without protection as he had imagined. Not being able to environ themselves by walls and fortifications, they had dug broad, deep trenches in every direction by which the marauding Arabs were likely to approach them. Over these trenches they had laid a light covering of reeds and straw, upon which they carefully strewed a thin covering of garden-mould, and seeds of the wild flowers common to the fields and valleys of the neighbourhood. The position of these trenches, or the narrow path by which they might here and there be passed in safety, was carefully concealed from all strangers. It was a very perilous attempt, therefore, to approach one of the apparently unprotected little villages which lay embosomed among these romantic mountains. The most skilful horseman finding the ground giving way beneath him, in vain endeavoured to recover his path, and both horse and rider lay helpless in the ditch.

But this simple mode of defence has long proved of no avail against the various invaders of the unhappy people. While a traveller was examining, some few years back, the ruins of Sebaste, one of the crowd asked him if many Franks would come to see these ruins; "Yes," he answered, jestingly; "so many, that if each were to take a stone, there would be none left." "The more the better," was the rejoinder on the part of the native: and such, it is said, was the feeling generally pervading the population of the country.

The road from Sichem to Jerusalem passes through the valley formed by Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, names so remarkably connected with the early history of Israel. "It shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the *blessing* upon Mount Gerizim, and the *curse* upon Ebal."† And, "It shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaster them with plaster. And there thou shalt build an altar unto the Lord thy God; an altar of stones." And further: "These shall stand upon Mount Gerizim to bless the people:" "and these shall stand upon Mount Ebal to curse."‡ Joshua also "built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in

* Memoires, t. ii. † Deut. xi. 29. ‡ Deut. xxvii. 4—13.

Mount Ebal:" "an altar of whole stones, over which no man had lift up any iron; and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the Lord, and sacrificed peace-offerings." On the stones thus set up, a copy of the law was inscribed. "And all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark, and on that side, before the priests the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, as well the stranger, as he that was born among them; half of them over against Mount Gerizim, and half of them over against Mount Ebal." *

How awful is the present solitude of these venerable mountains, compared with the scene which they exhibited when thus crowded with the countless throngs of Israel! how terrible the changes which have befallen that people since the time when, with such solemn pomp, they beheld the ark of the Lord passing through their ranks; and heard those blessings and curses pronounced which were to determine not only their own fate, but that of their most distant posterity!

Travellers agree in describing the valley, and the plain into which it opens, as singularly fertile. Maundrell mentions having passed two villages on the right hand, in his way to a place which he calls Kane Leban, four hours distant from Nablouse. The khan stands on the eastern side of a delicious valley, and opposite to it is the village of Leban, supposed to be the Lebonah of Scripture.† From this place the road becomes more mountainous and rocky; and at the end of about two hours the traveller reaches the ruins of a village and monastery, which tradition speaks of as marking the spot where Jacob rested, and "where he had his stony couch made easy by that beatifying vision of God, and of the angels ascending and descending on a ladder reaching from earth to heaven." ‡

Leban marks the boundary between Samaria and Judæa; and the country between this place and the supposed site of Bethel offers remarkable proofs of the natural capabilities of the country. From a spot surmounted by ruins, and thence called Attel, or "the Heap," the entire slopes of the hills, for a distance of ten hours, are or have been laid out in terraces from the base to the summit. Few of them are properly kept up; but those which are, indicate plainly what inexhaustible resources the people might derive from the land if they tended it with proper care, and under the blessing of Heaven. The rock, according to Mr. Elliott, is of a kind easily converted into soil; which being arrested by the terraces, constitutes long narrow gardens, the produce of which, exposed to the genial warmth of the sun, is rapidly matured, and an abundant increase obtained. "When the country," he adds, "was filled, as formerly, with an overflowing population, every terrace doubtless was cultivated, and in their hills the countless hosts of Israel found both security from invasion, and the means of support; but when the land fell under the

* Joshua, viii. 30—33. Eusebius, contrary to the received opinion, asserted that Ebal and Gerizim are not near Sichem. Quaresmius, t. ii. lib. vii. c. viii.

† Judges xxi. 19. ‡ Maundrell, p. 63.

curse of the Almighty, the terraces became dilapidated, and the soil gradually formed on the slopes was washed down by the first abundant rain, so that the hills, once clothed with vineyards, fig-trees, and olives, then ceased to present to the eye anything but their own arid rocks."* Almost the same account is given by the earlier travellers. The most striking contrast is also represented as existing between the rich country about Sichem, described by some writers as the garden, the paradise of the land, and the neglected hills and valleys of Judæa.

Between Leban and Bethel is the village of Sindschil, inhabited only by Turks and Arabs. The German traveller, Schubert, describes the situation of this remote spot as presenting the most enchanting scenery.† Being hospitably allowed to make his bed for the night in the fore-court of the mosque, he contemplated, by the last rays of the evening sun, the magnificent amphitheatre of mountains which rose towering in the distance, their awful sublimity only softened by the lovely valleys which here and there penetrate their depths. In the north-west, embosomed among the hills, lay Silûn, the Silo of Scripture; and whose name and situation alike betoken peace. Here, from the time of Joshua to that of Samuel, the tabernacle remained fixed, and Israel assembled to worship before the Lord; and here was the scene of that sweetest of the chapters of history, in which the voice of God is described as working its miracles on the almost infant heart.‡

Silo, according to the old geographer, Adrichomius, is the loftiest mountain in the circuit of Jerusalem. It was surmounted by a city of the same name; and there might still be seen, in his time, the ruins of an ancient altar. Another old writer says, that on leaving Michmas, the traveller descends into a valley, in which there is a large caravansary. Just outside the door of this building is a fountain of living water, affording comfort and refreshment to the pilgrims who pass that way. To the right of this, and not far distant, is Silo, where, he adds, lay the ruins of a church and altar.§

Whether so much credit is due to the traditions which point out this spot as the ancient Silo, is fairly questioned by modern writers. Dr. Robinson, who visited the village of Seilûn, speaks with great confidence of its being the Shiloh of Scripture. His guide had spoken of this place as lying to the north-east of Sindschil, or Sinjil, and stated that there was a saying among his people, that if the Franks were to visit it, they would deem it of such importance as not to leave it in less than a day. "The proofs," he adds, "that Seilûn is actually the site of the ancient Shiloh, lie within a very small compass; and both the name and position are sufficiently decisive. The full form of the Hebrew name was apparently Shilon, as we find it in the Gentile noun Shilonite; and Josephus writes it also both Silo and Siloun." In support of this opinion, we have the passage in the book of Judges, in

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 409.

† Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b. iii. p. 130.

‡ 1 Sam. iii. 7.

§ Quaresmius, t. ii. lib vii. c. iv. p. 797.

which Shiloh is said to be "on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah;"* a description which closely answers to the present site of Seilûn.

Anata, or Anathoth, the birth-place of the prophet Jeremiah, is found among the mountains about four leagues from Jerusalem. Once celebrated as a city of refuge, and a place of some strength, it is now a poor village, but still enjoys some of the advantages attending its situation in the midst of a tolerably fertile district. Maundrell and other writers speak of the ruins of several towns or villages, which they passed in the direct road from Samaria to Jerusalem. Not even a conjecture is ventured as to the names or history of these places, with the exception of the few to which tradition has assigned a doubtful species of new existence. But there is an historical value in the scattered remains of the once proud city, defying, with its towers and bastions, the hosts of the enemy; in those of the once happy village surrounded by its corn-fields, its olive-groves, and vineyards. As we contemplate these relics of the past, we feel what countless sorrows must have been suffered by the multitudes who took no part in the struggle of contending powers; who had no knowledge even of the great question at issue; of the nature of the antagonism characterizing the conflicting principles of their civilization and their religion. It is natural for travellers to confine their attention to the spots on which they can discover traces of ancient grandeur; or to which history has given an especial interest; but the ruin of nameless multitudes; the scattered remains of cities which were too happy, too secure, to be much noticed; these are the things which most deeply impress a really thoughtful mind with sad convictions of the power of time and change; of the helplessness of the human race, when placed in opposition to that power, except it can bring to its aid the blessing and the grace of Heaven.

From the village of Sindschil, or Sinjil, the road leads over a rocky precipice to Beer. This is said to occupy the site of the ancient Michmas.† Its situation, on the southern slope of a hill, gives it a pleasant aspect; and a copious fountain irrigates the valley below. The existence of a ruined church on the mountain has encouraged the belief that it was here the mother of our Lord first discovered his absence from the company, on their return from Jerusalem. On one of the neighbouring heights stood the city of Gibeon; for some time the consecrated city of the covenant; and the place in which King Solomon offered up his noble prayer, not for riches, or length of days, but for wisdom. Another celebrated site is also shown at no great distance from Beer, to the south-west. This is the Ramah of Samuel. Here there is a mosque, said to inclose the tomb of the venerable prophet. "It is covered," says Mr. Elliott, "with a coffin, according to the Mahommedan custom, and there is little doubt that the holy man was born, died, and was buried on this mount, which for three thousand years has retained his name." The significant appellation of Rama was, in old times, *Ramathaim*

* Chap. xxi. 19. † Or Beeroth, Schubert, Reise in dans Morgenland, b. iii. p. 125.

Sophim, "the heights of the lookers-out;" this being the most favourable point, among the mountains of Ephraim, for observing the movements of an enemy. And here it was that the prophet judged Israel with so righteous a rule; here it was that he erected an altar unto the Lord; that the people gathered around him when they desired a king to rule over them; and that Saul was so wonderfully brought to the prophet, when the time arrived for his exaltation to the throne of Israel.*

The view from the mountain is said to be noble and extensive. To the north, close at its base, is Jib, the Gibeah of Saul. In the north-west, under a chain of low hills bounding the vale of Sharon, is Bether, or Bethoron; and beyond the vale, on the sea-coast, stands Jaffa, the ancient Joppa. In the middle of the plain, due west, is the representative of Arimathæa. In the south-west is seen Modin, the burial-p ace of the Maccabees; towards the east, is the site of the ancient Anathoth, the birth-place of Jeremiah; and, crowning the landscape with its sacred interest, in the south-east, Mount Olivet intimates the vicinity of the holy city.†

A controversy was commenced in very early times, respecting the identity of the site, commonly pointed out as that of Bethel, with the actual position of the ancient city. It has been a favourite notion of the Jews, that it was on Mount Moriah Jacob enjoyed the sublime vision which induced him to call the place where he passed that memorable night, *the house of God*, or Bethel. This opinion, however, has been wholly rejected by Christian commentators; it being expressly stated in Scripture, that the neighbourhood of Luz was the scene of Jacob's vision. St. Jerome and Eusebius affirm that Bethel was the ancient city here mentioned; and describe it as formerly belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, being situated on the right hand of the road from Jerusalem to Neapolis, or Sichem, and near the twelfth milestone. But it is shown that Luz was in the tribe of Ephraim; and Quaresmius having settled this point observes, that while it is uncertain whether Bethel was on the right or left side of the road, whether it was near to, or far from Sichem, it is evident, that it was between the latter city and Shiloh.‡ Reland observes that Bethel was in the tribe of Ephraim, but on the confines of Benjamin; and this statement he illustrates by several quotations from Josephus. The Itinerary of Jerusalem describes it as lying on the left-hand from Sichem to that city. Some authors also state, that the stone which the patriarch made his pillow, was placed in the second temple, and formed the support of the ark. After the destruction of the city, the Jews, it is reported, still fondly wept around this stone, which the Mohammedans, with no less veneration, placed as a sacred relic in their mosque.§

According to Dr. Robinson, the site of Bethel is found in the present village of Beitin. The ruins in the immediate neighbourhood of this place occupy a space of three or four acres, on the summit of a hill. They consist of the remains of a

* Quaresmius, t. ii. lib. vi. c. v. p. 727.
† Travels, vol. ii. p. 413.
‡ Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ, lib. vii. c. iii.
§ Palæstina, t. ii. lib. iii. p. 637.

square tower, and of several churches. These relics betoken the former existence on this spot of some populous and important town. But all now is solitude. Two living springs of water, and a verdant grass-plat supply the place of the busy mart. "Here," says Dr. Robinson, "we spread our carpets on the grass for breakfast, by the side of these desolations of ages. A few Arabs, probably from some neighbouring village, had pitched their tents here for the summer, to watch their flocks and fields of grain: and they were the only inhabitants. From them we obtained milk and butter of excellent quality, and such as might have done honour to the days when the flocks of Abraham and Jacob were pastured on these hills."

Proceeding along the direct road to the venerable capital, the traveller at length reaches the elevated ground known by the significant appellation of Scopus, or the watch-tower. It was from a spot like this that the destined conqueror of Jerusalem beheld, with such mingled awe and wonder, its massive walls; its mighty towers and bulwarks; and, above all, its temple, resplendent still with an almost supernatural glory. Full of beauty and pathos was the sentiment which both history and poetry ascribe to the proud Roman as he contemplated the ruin which his own arm was destined to inflict.

"How boldly doth it front us! how majestically!
Like a luxurious vineyard, the hill side
Is hung with marble fabrics, line o'er line,
Terrace o'er terrace, nearer still, and nearer,
To the blue heavens. Here bright and sumptuous palaces,
With cool and verdant gardens interspers'd;
Here towers of war that frown in massy strength.
While over all hangs the rich purple eve,
As conscious of its being her last farewell
Of light and glory to that fated city.
And as our clouds of battle, dust and smoke
Are melted into air, behold the Temple,
In undisturb'd and lone serenity,
Finding itself a solemn sanctuary
In the profound of heaven! It stands before us,
A mount of snow fretted with golden pinnacles!
The very sun, as though he worshipped there,
Lingers upon the gilded cedar roofs;
And down the long and branching porticos,
On every flowery-sculptured capital,
Glitters the homage of his parting beams.
By Hercules! the sight might almost win
The offended majesty of Rome to mercy."*

Travellers of all ages and nations have agreed in describing the emotions with which they first beheld Jerusalem as characterized by profound awe; and cold

* Milman's Fall of Jerusalem, p. 7.

indeed must be the heart, ill-informed the mind, which the contemplation of such a city could fail to excite or elevate. The history of every other place sinks into insignificance when compared with that of Jerusalem. There the glory of a kingdom was consecrated, in the growth and fall of which we see, as on a dial-plate, the hours marked at which providence completed the several parts of its most important designs.

Nor is it from the past only that Jerusalem derives its awful and pathetic grandeur. While other nations and their cities appeal to the page of history, and must depend upon what is written there for the amount of reverence which we render them, God's ancient people and Jerusalem can point to a scroll far more sublime than any record of history; they can appeal to the divine page of prophecy, and show that there their power, and glory, and beauty are recognized as having as real an existence in the ages to come as in those which are past. It is this, its wondrous destiny connecting its name with all that is yet to come, which gives to Jerusalem, poor and afflicted as it is, so solemn an aspect. He who contemplates it from the neighbouring heights, and feels the power of the dispensations which were cradled in its sanctuary, seems still to behold Jerusalem as invested with unearthly pomp. But when the vision of the future rises before him, and the Jerusalem, which once was in bondage with her children, only passes away, that the new Jerusalem may occupy its place with heavenly splendours, his soul is impressed with a feeling of admiration which well repays him for all the toils and difficulties of his pilgrimage.

JERUSALEM.—THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

JERUSALEM presents at a distance an appearance more in accordance with its ancient glory, than its present poverty and debasement. Its walls and gates still betoken the warlike strength of other days; and when the evening sun sheds its purple glory on the various domes and towers which crowd upon the scene, the stranger is disposed to question whether he can really be contemplating the captive, desolate city, whose fate he has been so prepared to mourn. But it is after having familiarized ourselves with the more remarkable objects within the city, that we shall be best able to contemplate, in imagination, from some one or other of the neighbouring heights, this monument of God's dealings with his people; this hieroglyphic inscription on the rock of ages which would defy the most ingenious of interpreters, but for the key to its meaning existing in the Bible.

The great northern road from Sichem to Jerusalem terminates at the gate of Damascus, known in Arabic by an appellation signifying "the Gate of the Pilgrims;" and called, at different times, "Abraham's Gate," "the Gate of the Column," and, "the Gate of the Beloved." Passing through this celebrated portal, a beautiful specimen of Saracenic architecture, the traveller finds himself within the walls of the holy city, the object, probably, of a pilgrimage commenced with an ardour to which the sentiments giving birth to other undertakings, however important, bear not the remotest resemblance.

It is interesting, however, to observe the various feelings with which different strangers have traversed, for the first time, the streets of Jerusalem. One traveller speaks of his having experienced a sort of collapse, from the over-strained emotions with which he had looked forward to the realization of his wishes. Dr. Robinson had a happier sense of the fulfilment of his prayers. "The feelings," he says, "of a Christian traveller on approaching Jerusalem, can be better conceived than described. Mine were strongly excited. From the earliest childhood, I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot; now I beheld them with my own eyes; and they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among cherished scenes of childhood, long unvisited, indeed, but distinctly recollected; and it was almost a painful interruption when my companion, who had been here before, began to point out, and name, the various objects in view."

Another writer, long familiar with Jerusalem, says, "The Christian who approaches

Jerusalem for the first time will probably be disappointed to find that his emotions, on the first sight of a city associated in his mind from his earliest infancy with all that is most sacred, are so much less intense than he imagined possible, when he thought on them at a distance. The truth is, the events transacted here are so great in every view, that the mind cannot at once grasp them, but is, as it were, stupified by the effort. It takes time to realize the truth, that this is the home of Scripture history, the cradle of the Christian church. But the feeling of attachment to the holy city and its sacred localities will soon be found, and will be deepened by time to a calm satisfaction, a peaceful resting in it as the home of one's affections, which no other spot on earth can impart. For there is a halo about Jerusalem, an atmosphere which one drinks in, not only on the mountains around, but even amid its crumbling ruins, which has an untold charm; and he who shall have resided there for months or years, and has known what it is to suffer in body and in mind, amid the scenes of *His* sufferings, such an one alone can appreciate the privilege of a residence in Jerusalem."*

But notwithstanding the interest with which travellers in general have sought the holy city, their manner of describing its localities, and the venerable objects which it contains, is almost as various as if they contemplated it from the different elevations of a different faith. From the language employed and the temper displayed, some would seem to have visited it with no other desire than that of exercising a vain ingenuity, or showing their disregard for the traditions of antiquity; others have yielded their feelings and their judgment implicitly to the current tales of a superstitious people; and some have devoted themselves, almost to weariness, to the unprofitable task of endeavouring to settle the disputes which have arisen between these very opposite classes of inquirers. It is always painful to find the thoughts disturbed by controversy, when they would fain rest in quiet contemplation on the objects of reverential regard. In few cases can the truth of this be felt more keenly than in that of Jerusalem. Uncertainty there is destructive of associations the most treasured, the most desired.

There is, however, little difficulty in accounting for the angry tone in which some of the writers most entitled to our esteem have spoken of long-established traditions. These popular stories are often in such violent opposition to geography and history, that no traveller commonly well informed on the subject can listen to them without mingled surprise and vexation. But the writers alluded to have, in many cases, allowed the pride of learning, or ingenious observation, to carry them too far. They have overlooked or despised probabilities, because they were occasionally successful in detecting some palpable falsehood.

The observations of Chateaubriand on this subject are deserving of great attention. "The ancient travellers," he says, "were extremely fortunate. They were

* Williams. The Holy City, part ii. 429.

not obliged to enter into all these critical disquisitions. In the first place, they found their readers impressed with a religion which never contends against truth. And, secondly, it was a prevailing conviction, that the only way of seeing a country as it is, is to see it with all its traditions and recollections. It is, in fact, with the Bible in his hand, that a traveller ought to visit the Holy Land. If we are determined to carry with us a spirit of cavil and contradiction, Judæa is not worth our going so far to examine it. What should we say to a man who, in traversing Greece and Italy, should think of nothing but contradicting Homer and Virgil? Such, however, is the course adopted by modern travellers; evidently the effect of vanity, which would excite in us a high idea of our own abilities, and, at the same time, fill us with disdain for those of other people."

Schubert, the German traveller has, excellently described his impressions on the first morning after his arrival in Jerusalem. He had taken up his lodging in the Latin Convent of St. Salvator, and the first gleam of dawn was only struggling in the sky when he arose from his couch, and ascended the flat roof of the monastery. The moon had not yet set, and the pale light of the early morning mingling with its beams, gave a mild and beautiful distinctness to the surrounding objects. "It has always been one of my greatest pleasures in travelling," says this interesting writer, "to see the day break in a strange land, and a strange city. It seems to wake as out of the thoughts which formed the dream of yesterday, and the day before; and it bears, as it were, the brightness of those thoughts upon its brow But where could the morning-dream, connecting itself with the past, be more impressive or exciting, than when tabernacled in the brightness of the dawn, sweeping over the Mount of Olives, the Vale of Gethsemane: over Moriah and Golgotha?"*

Almost everything was still strange and new to him; but as he looked around, his eyes rested, as if long familiar with those sacred objects, on the Mount of Olives, and the Church of the Ascension, in the east. To the south-east, he could trace the deep valley of the Kidron, in the direction of the Dead Sea; and the faint outline of the heights belonging to the mountains of Pisgah. On the south was the hilly country of Hebron; and in the opposite direction, the road to Ramla and Joppa on the left, and that to Nazareth and Damascus on the right. As the light of the morning increased, the Mosque of Omar, occupying the site of the Temple, rose proudly among the surrounding buildings; and nearer at hand, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The impressions made on the mind by a long study of sacred history, or even by a contemplation of Jerusalem in the hour of deep repose, as above described, receive a sort of rude shock when the stranger, on first treading its streets, finds himself surrounded by a noisy, busy throng, engaged, like all the rest of the world, in buying and selling, and the other every-day occupations of life. Such was the

* Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. s. 449.

uneasy, startling sensation produced on Schubert's mind, by the contrast between his morning contemplation, and the actual appearance of Jerusalem, that he felt, he says, like a child, who having just lost his father, and being full of sorrow, can hear from a neighbouring house, the bustle of life, the rude and jesting talk of the day.

Among the chief objects of attraction to the pilgrim, of whatever age or country, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has ever been the foremost. A vast body of evidence, both historical and traditional, exists to prove that the spot on which this edifice stands is really that which was consecrated by the burial of our Lord. The main argument of those sceptical inquirers, who would set aside the common belief of so many generations of pilgrims, rests on the circumstance, that both Golgotha and the place where the body of our Lord was entombed were without the walls of the city. But the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is within the walls; and it is, therefore, triumphantly asked, how can any faith be given to the ordinary tradition? Dr. Clarke was one of the first of modern travellers to give weight to this and similar objections. But this amiable writer often allowed himself to be carried away by the indignation which he felt at the absurdities of monkish tales. He appears to have forgotten, on many occasions, that where there is much error and absurdity, there may still be something which is true; that the accumulation of superstitious traditions does not necessarily imply the error of an older and more venerable belief.

The best abstract of the arguments on both sides which we have met with, is that given by Mr. Elliott. "If there be a difficulty," he says, "in believing the identity of the reputed, and the real site, some thinking minds find it equally difficult to disbelieve. On the one hand, it is urged that since the crucifixion the site of the city itself is altered, and the clue lost; but that, at any rate, the real sepulchre was outside the walls, which the pretended one never could have been; and that it was an excavation in a rock, not a tomb above ground. To these objections it is answered, first, that the testimony of Eusebius, Lactantius, Sozomen, Jerome, Nicephorus, Cyril, Theodoret, and other early writers, coincides with the tradition. Secondly, that Adrian, who reigned in the beginning of the second century, erected a statue of Jupiter on the site of the holy sepulchre, and another of Venus on Calvary, in order to defile those places made sacred by Christians that the statues existed till the days of Constantine, whose mother, Helena, substituted for that of Jupiter, a church, which, though subsequently destroyed, was rebuilt within forty years, and was never doubted to have stood on the foundations of the present structure Thirdly, that it is easy to account for what was once 'a cave in a rock'now appearing on the surface; for, as related by Gibbon, Hakim, the third of the Fatimite Caliphs, who styled himself 'the visible image of the Most High,' regarding Christ as a rival, took great pains to destroy the original sepulchre, obliterating the 'cave in the rock,' which properly constituted it; and this could only have been done by cutting away the surrounding mass. The advocates

of the authenticity of the tradition further urge, that the trace, if lost, must have been lost during the sixty years which intervened between the destruction of the city by Titus and the erection of Adrian's statue; which is highly improbable, since the sepulchre was pre-eminently venerated and much resorted to; a fact established by the desire of the emperor to desecrate it."

These facts can scarcely be set aside by the scoff of the sceptic, or the doubts of the too timid inquirer. But it is added, "When the circumstances of the early Christians are considered; the frequent cavils of the Jews to disprove the Messiah's resurrection, and the pertinacity with which his disciples maintained it; their hopes of future happiness based thereon; their boldness, even to death, and their zeal, rising superior to all worldly considerations, it seems hardly possible that within the period of a single generation—the scene of that great event should be forgotten; that men who endangered life to attest the resurrection of their Lord, honouring above every other the spot where it occurred, and having that spot within their reach, should have suffered its identity to become a matter of doubt."

To the argument derived, as mentioned above, from the position of the sepulchre; it is answered, "The force of this presumptial evidence is not destroyed by the objection, that consistently with the topographical description of ancient Jerusalem by Josephus, the reputed sepulchre could not have been, as Christ's was known to be, *without* the walls; for so many unsuccessful efforts have been made to reconcile that description with existing appearances, that they must now be regarded as irreconcilable. The conclusion seems inevitable, that Josephus is not perfectly correct, or that he has not been clearly apprehended; or else that the surface of the ground has undergone such changes in the course of nearly two thousand years, that what were small valleys and mounds in his day, have now ceased to be such; and that, consequently, his description cannot be applied to the present face of nature." Still further: "The accuracy of the tradition regarding the site of the crucifixion does not necessarily affect that regarding the holy sepulchre; and when it is argued, that the modern Calvary is not sufficiently high to answer our ideas of a hill, it may fairly be replied, first, that Scripture nowhere states that Calvary was a hill; and, secondly, that the objection is irrelevant, for the authenticity of the one statement is not necessarily connected with that of the other. The site of the tomb may be correctly laid down, while that of the crucifixion, at some little distance from it, may now be lost." Helena, anxious to comprise both spots within the compass of a handsome edifice, and giving too limited a meaning to the words of St. John,* might have sacrificed truth to ambition; and, correctly estimating the site of the sepulchre, have ascribed to Calvary a

* "Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid." John xix. 41.

fictitious existence, where she wished it to be found, namely, in the church of her own erection." *

The latest and most ingenious writer on the other side is Dr. Robinson.† He gives great weight to the argument respecting the situation of the real sepulchre, *without* the walls of the city; and he details with skilful minuteness the results of the examination which he personally made, to determine the original extent of ancient Jerusalem. Summing up the particulars of his topographical inquiry, he says, "All goes to show that the second wall must have extended further to the north than the site of the present church. Or, again: if we admit that this wall ran in a straight course, then the whole of the lower city must have been confined to a small triangle; and its breadth between the temple and the site of the sepulchre, a space of less than a quarter of an English mile, was not equal to that of many squares in London and New York. Yet we know that this lower city at the time of the crucifixion was extensive and populous; three gates led from it to the temple. And ten years later, Agrippa erected the third wall, far beyond the limits of the present city, in order to shelter the extensive suburbs, which before were unprotected. These suburbs could not well have arisen within the short interval of ten years; but must already have existed before the time of our Lord's crucifixion. After examining all these circumstances repeatedly upon the spot, and, as I hope, without prejudice, the minds of both my companion and myself were forced to the conviction, that the hypothesis which makes the second wall so run as to exclude the alleged site of the holy sepulchre, is, on topographical grounds, untenable and impossible. If there was prejudice upon my own mind, it was certainly in favour of an opposite result; for I went to Jerusalem strongly prepossessed with the idea that the alleged site might have lain without the second wall."

To the grand historical argument, the testimony of ancient authors, and the continued chain of tradition, this able writer answers by suggesting doubts as to the data upon which the argument is constructed. He even questions whether any particular veneration was felt for the sepulchre in the apostolic times; and denies the truth of the position, that the first Christian churches were without the walls of the city, and escaped the common destruction when Titus besieged the city. The argument connected with the erection of heathen temples and idols on the sacred spot is disposed of in a similar way; and our author concludes his reasoning by quoting parallel cases of tradition, especially that which is said to have existed in ancient times respecting our Lord's ascension from the Mount of Olives, and which, he says, was evidently founded on error. To the question, Where, then, are the true sites of Golgotha and the sepulchre to be sought? he answers, that all search must probably prove in vain. "We know nothing more from the Scriptures than that they were near each other, without the gate, and nigh to the city, in a frequented

* Travels in the Three Great Empires. † Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 64.

spot. This would favour the conclusion, that the place was probably upon a great road, leading from one of the gates; and such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Joppa or Damascus."

But, deserving of respect as are the opinions of such a traveller as Dr. Robinson, some of his arguments are founded on assumptions which it requires no learned ingenuity to justify our questioning. Thus when he supposes that because no mention is made by the apostles of their reverence for the grave of our Lord, they felt no sentiment of this kind, he evidently adopts a very illogical conclusion. There is so much uncertainty, again, respecting the actual position or extent of ancient Jerusalem, that it seems, at least, as dangerous to adopt a theory founded on a modern plan of the city, as to receive a very old and venerable tradition.*

It would be far from consistent with the design of this work to enter into the minute topographical investigations to which the controversy respecting the holy sepulchre has given birth. The arguments of Dr. Robinson have been ably examined by a late writer,† whose impressions are all on the side of that belief which would leave us in the quiet enjoyment of our old associations. Having traced the course of the second wall, he asks, "And where now does it leave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre?" To this he answers, "In the angle formed by the first and second wall, 'nigh unto the city,' and 'without the gate,' probably in 'a place where there were gardens;' for the gate of Gennath, (that is, *the gate of the gardens*,) led into this quarter; and where *we know* there were tombs; for the monument of John the high-priest was in the angle described by that fact. And it is surely a wonderful confirmation of the Christian tradition, that these circumstances, incidentally recorded by a Jewish writer with a totally different view, should all concur in showing not merely the possibility, but even the probability of its truth. If undesigned coincidences are worth anything in such arguments, the holy sepulchre is justly entitled to the full benefit of these, which it is impossible for scepticism itself to suspect."

The history of the edifice about which so many disputes have existed may be thus briefly told. It was erected, as has been so often stated, by the mother of Constantine; and, as is believed, on the spot which contains the cave in which our Lord was entombed. The discovery, it is further asserted, of the true cross gave an additional sanctity to the space around; and the cave, the massive rock which rent when the Saviour said, "It is finished!" and the eminence on which the cross

* Quaresmius gives a copious collection of testimonies in support of the received account. It is evident that in the minds of such men as Bede, and other writers of the middle ages, not a doubt existed but that the reports of the pilgrims from the Holy Land might be safely depended on. Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ, lib. v. c. ix.

† The Rev. G. Williams, late chaplain to Bishop Alexander. See "The Holy City; or, Historical and Topographical Notices of Jerusalem," part ii. c. i. p. 289.

was fixed, were all encased in marble, and enclosed within the walls of the church. No cost was spared to render the building answerable to the wealth and piety of those by whom it was planned. It continued to be the admiration of Christians till the year 614, when the Persian conqueror, Chosroes, amid other acts of barbarian ferocity, burnt the venerable edifice to the ground. But this could neither harm the sanctity of the spot, nor injure that which alone had originally pointed it out to the reverence of the faithful. The church was accordingly rebuilt in 628, by the Emperor Heraclius; and when the Caliph Omar became master of Jerusalem, he was so far from injuring the sacred pile, that he protected it by his commands, and honoured it by acts of personal piety. From this period it remained safe for 370 years, when it was assailed by Hakem, the Egyptian caliph. It was, however, soon after repaired; and was preserved from any material accident till the year 1808, when it was utterly destroyed by fire, the flames sparing nothing in their ravages but the ornaments about the holy of holies, or the tomb itself. Notwithstanding the oppression endured by the Christians in the East, and the poverty under which the greater number of them groan, their ardent zeal prompted them to commence the immediate reconstruction of the church. Thus it has risen again in all its ancient grandeur, and in the very form in which it had for so many ages inspired the rapturous veneration of devout pilgrims.

Of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as it existed two centuries back, we have admirable accounts in the journals of Sandys and Maundrell, men whose acuteness was indisputably as great as Dr. Clarke's, or that of any other modern traveller, but whose genuine English and Protestant feeling was no hinderance to the flow of devotional thought, or to their sympathy with those who had no wish but to live and die amid the scenes consecrated by their Saviour's presence. Having expressed his grief at beholding the enemies of Christ lords of his sepulchre, the venerable Sandys begins his description of the spot by observing, that, "to make the foundation even in a place so uneven, much of the rock had been hewn away, and parts too low supplied with mighty arches: so that those natural forms were utterly deformed, which would have better satisfied the beholder; and too much regard had made them less regardable." He adds: "The roof of the temple is of a high pitch curiously arched, and supported with great pillars of marble; the outward aisles galleried above; the universal fabric stately and sumptuous."*

That which follows is strikingly characteristic of the temper, sedate and enlightened, but fervent and devout, which gives so much both of pathos and value to the writings of our older travellers. "After we had disposed of our luggage in a part of the north gallery belonging to the Latins, the confessor offered to show us the holy and observable places in the temple; which we gladly accepted, he demanding first if devotion or curiosity had possessed us with that desire. So that

* A Relation of a Journey begun 1610, third edit. 1627, lib. iii. p. 61.

for omitting Pater-Nosters and Ave-Marias, we lost many years' indulgences, which every place doth plentifully afford to such as affect them, and contented ourselves with an historical relation."

The account which Sandys gives of the church, and of the various objects to which his attention was directed, agrees remarkably with that of modern travellers: like them, he tells us, that the first relic of antiquity which engaged his notice was a marble slab just before the door of the church, level with the pavement, and surrounded by a brass railing. This stone, it is said, covers that upon which Nicodemus anointed the body of our Lord. At each end are placed three enormous wax candles; and beautiful silver lamps, the votive gifts of various convents, cast their symbolical light on the honoured spot. The Stone of Unction, as it is called, still remains; but some of the objects spoken of in the earlier descriptions were destroyed, or changed in appearance, by the fire of 1808. This is the case with regard to the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, which originally adorned the Chapel of St. John, the far end of which, according to Sandys, is close to the foot of Calvary. On the left side of the altar of this chapel is a cleft in the rock, in which the monks pretend the head* of Adam was found, adding, with more of pathos than truth, that the father of the human race, being aided by the sprit of prophecy to foresee where Christ would be crucified, desired to be buried there, that his bones might be sprinkled with the real blood of the Saviour. Over this, it is added, are the chapels of Mount Calvary, ascended on the north side by twenty steps; the highest hewn out of the rock forms a part of the passage, and is obscure and very narrow. "The floor of the first chapel is checkered with diverse coloured marbles; not to be trod upon by feet that are shod. At the east end, under a large arched concave of the wall, is the place where our Saviour did suffer; which may assuredly be thought the same; and, if one place be more holy than another, reputed in the world the most venerable. He is void of sense that sees, believes, and is not then confounded with his passion. The rock there riseth half-a-yard higher than the pavement, level above, in form of an altar, ten feet long and six broad, flagged with white marble; as are the arch and wall adjoining. In the midst is the place where the cross did stand, lined with silver-gilt, and embossed. This they creep to, prostrate themselves thereon, kiss, salute; and such as use them sanctify therein their beads and crucifixes. On either side there standeth a cross, that on the right side in the place where the good thief was crucified; and that on the left where the bad, divided from Christ by the rent of the rock, (a figure of his spiritual separation,) which clove asunder in the hour of his passion."

It is evident from this account, that Sandys was strongly impressed with the

* From this circumstance the monks would have it, that the place derived its name of Calvary, Golgotha, or the place of a skull.

truth of the old tradition. He appears also to have examined with attention the character of the place itself; for, speaking of the cleft in the rock, he says, "The insides do testify that art had no hand therein; each side to other being answerably rugged; and these were inaccessible to the workman. This place belongeth to the Georgians, whose priests are poor, and accept of alms. No other nation says mass on that altar, over which there hang forty-six lamps, which burn continually. On the selfsame floor, of the selfsame form, is that other chapel, belonging to the Latins, divided only by a curtain, and entered through the former. In the midst of the pavement is a square, inchased with stones of different colours, where Christ, as they say, was nailed upon the cross. This place is too holy to be trod upon. They wear the hard stone with their soft knees; and heat them with their fervent kisses; prostrating themselves, and tumbling up and down with an over-active zeal."

The chapels thus spoken of crown the summit of the rock. Close at hand is another little chapel, built, it is said, on the spot where Abraham offered up his son Isaac. The existence of this and other supposititious memorials of the past, is unhappily prejudicial to the genuine associations belonging to the place. Thus, while we may easily give credit to the tradition which points out the site of our Lord's crucifixion and burial, it is difficult to yield assent to the guide who tells us, that about twenty paces to the west of Calvary is the spot on which the Virgin Mary and St. John stood contemplating the Divine Sufferer: that a little way from the sepulchre itself, the precise spot may be seen where our Lord appeared to Mary Magdalene; and the other where he appeared to his mother, over which is the chapel, called the Chapel of the Apparition. Tradition has run riot in thus pretending to point out positions which, in the very nature of things, could derive no particular note or mark from the incidents alluded to. The crucifixion, on the other hand, was a public event; the spot on which it took place was likely to be remembered by a vast number of the spectators; and the place and circumstances of the entombment were too remarkable to be unnoticed by either friends or enemies.

Thus the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is contained within a cloistered circle, the lower portion of which is divided into several chapels, while that above affords a lodging for the numerous monks engaged in the service of the sanctuary. "This round," says the old traveller, "is covered with a cupola, sustained with rafters of cedar, each of one piece; being open in the midst, like the Pantheon at Rome. Just in the midst, and in the view of heaven, stands the glorified sepulchre, a hundred and eighty feet distant from Mount Calvary; the natural rock surmounting the soil of the temple, abated by art, and hewn into the form of a chapel, of greater length than breadth, and ending in a semicircle, all flagged with white marble. The hinder part being something more eminent than the other, is environed with ten small pillars adjoining the wall, and sustaining the cornice. On the top, which is flat, and in the midst thereof, a little cupola, covered with lead, is erected upon six

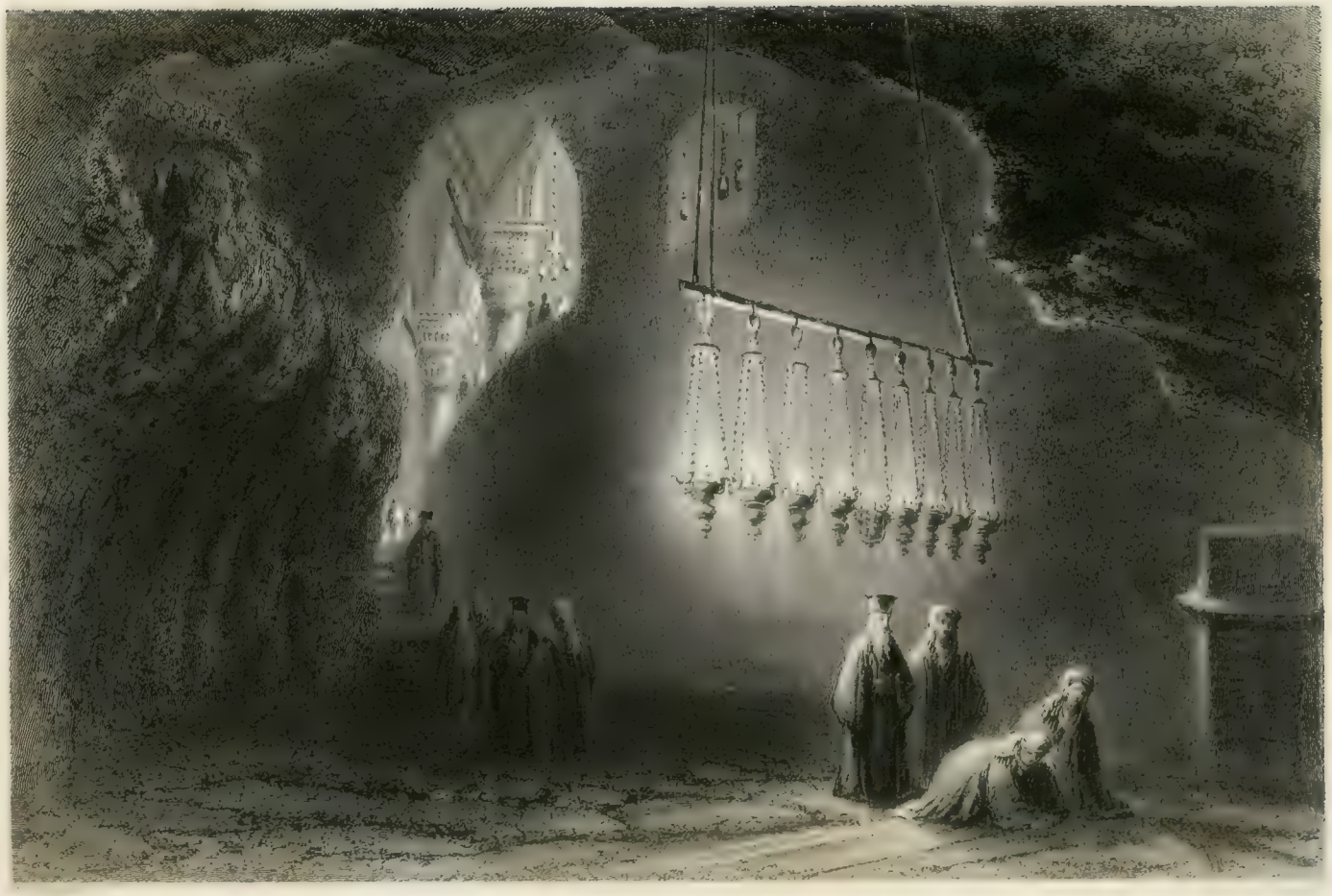
double, but small Corinthian columns of polished porphyry. The other part, being lower than this by the height of the cornice, smooth above, and not so garnished on the sides, serving as a lobby, or portico to the former, is entered at the east end. Before the door is a long pavement, erected something above the floor of the church, included between two white marble walls, not more than ten feet high, consisting of the selfsame rock, and containing within a concave—about three yards square—the roof hewn compass; all flagged throughout with white marble. In the midst of the floor there is a stone, about a foot high and a foot and a half square, whereon they say that the angel sat who told the two Maries that our Saviour was risen. But St. Matthew saith that he sat upon the great stone which he had rolled from the mouth of the sepulchre, which, as it is said, the empress caused to be conveyed to the Church of St. Saviour, standing where once stood the palace of Caiaphas."

From this chapel a passage, about three feet high and two broad, cut through the rock, and furnished with a stone door, leads into another cave about eight feet square, and the same in height, the rocky roof being lined with beautiful white marble. On the north side of this little chapel is the sacred tomb, about a yard in height, and so encased in marble as to form an altar, sufficiently large to enable three persons to unite in their devotions at its foot. Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians regard it as a privilege to be allowed to suspend their lamps over this most venerated of altars. Seven large silver, and forty-four smaller lamps* are kept perpetually burning, and afford an apt emblem of the ceaseless devotion which, in their successive services, the monks offer up, day and night, in the neighbouring chapels.

To the accuracy of the description given by Sandys of the holy sepulchre, as existing in his time, Maundrell, who visited it between eighty and ninety years later, bears willing testimony.† He, however, examined the church carefully for himself, and tells us that he found it less than one hundred paces long, and not more than sixty wide, but that it was so contrived as to contain under its roof twelve or thirteen sanctuaries, marking particular circumstances in the sufferings and resurrection of our Lord. These he mentions: as, first, the place where Jesus was derided by the soldiers; secondly, where they cast lots for his garments; thirdly, where he was shut up, while they dug the hole in which to fix the cross; fourthly, where he was nailed to the tree; fifthly, where the cross was erected; sixthly,

* Of these the old French traveller says, "Thirty belonged to the Catholics; and the rest to the other nations who had the privilege of worshipping in the church."—Voyage de la Terre Sainte, 1657. p. 93.

† "Our learned and sagacious countryman, Mr. Sandys, whose description and draughts, both of this church and also of the other remarkable places in and about Jerusalem, must be acknowledged so faithful and perfect, that they leave very little to be added by after comers, and nothing to be corrected." Friday, March 26, 1697.



where the soldier stood who pierced his side; and so on, each spot being surmounted by an altar, and regarded as a station for the exercise of some especial act of devotion. In galleries round about the church, and in little buildings annexed to it on the outside, Maundrell saw the apartments which had been formerly occupied not only by Latins and Greeks, but by Syrians, Armenians, Abyssinians, Georgians, Nestorians, Cophtites, Maronites, &c.; almost every Christian nation having, in earlier times, maintained a small society of monks in the Church of the Sepulchre, and the Turks assigning to each society its proper quarter. All but four of these brotherhoods had forsaken the church in Maundrell's time, not being able to pay the heavy rent demanded of them by the Turks. The Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and Cophtites had still their lodgings in the building; but of these the last named had only one poor representative; and the Armenians were so much in debt that it was supposed they must soon follow the example of those who had already forsaken the place. The daily employment of the monks who were enabled still to enjoy the much-coveted privilege of a residence in this sanctuary, was to trim the lamps, and make devotional visits and processions to the several altars in the church. "Thus, it is said, they spend their time, many of them four or six years together; nay, so far are some transported with the pleasing contemplations in which they here entertain themselves, that they will never come out to their dying day, burying themselves, as it were, alive in our Lord's grave."

The appearance of this remarkable place, it has been already observed, is little altered by the destructive fire of 1808. Mr. Elliott says, "It is an oblong structure, about fifteen feet by ten, roofed in with a handsome ceiling, corresponding to the richness of the silver, gold, and marble which decorate its interior." The inner apartment, which Sandys represents as eight feet square, is also described by the later traveller, as lined with verd-antique, and just large enough to allow four persons to stand by the side of a plain white sarcophagus of the ordinary dimensions. Many a devout pilgrim has expressed his wonder and delight, that when all the rest of the edifice was like a raging furnace, even the stones and marble pillars crumbling into dust beneath the fury of the flames, the very curtains about the holy tomb remained unsinged

A traveller * whose descriptions are always lively and interesting, having spoken of the other remarkable places in the circuit of the church, thus describes the Chapel of the Cross. "Descending twenty-eight broad marble steps, the visitor comes to a large chamber, eighteen paces square, dimly lighted by a few distant lamps, the roof being supported by four short columns with enormous capitals. In front of the steps is the altar, and on the right a seat, on which the Empress Helena, advised by a dream where the true cross was to be found, sat and watched the workmen who were digging below. Descending again fourteen steps, another

* Stephens. Incidents of Travel, chap. xxviii.

chamber is reached, darker and more dimly lighted than the first, and hung with faded red tapestry. A marble slab, bearing on it a figure of the cross, covers the mouth of the pit in which the true cross was found. The next chapel is over the spot where our Saviour was crowned with thorns; and under the altar, protected by an iron grating, is the very stone on which he sat. Then the visitor arrives at Mount Calvary. A narrow marble staircase, of eighteen steps, leads to a chapel about fifteen feet square, paved with marble in mosaic, and hung on all sides with silken tapestry, and lamps dimly burning. The chapel is divided by two short pillars, hung also with silk, and supporting quadrangular arches; at the extremity is a large altar, ornamented with paintings and figures; and under the altar a circular silver plate, with a hole in the centre, indicating the spot in which rested the step of the cross. On each side of the hole is another, the two designating the places where the crosses of the two thieves were erected. And near by, on the same marble platform, is a crevice about three feet long and three inches wide, having brass bars over it, and a cover of silk." Removing the covering, our traveller saw, by the aid of a lamp, a fissure in the rock, which, it is said, was rent asunder, as mentioned above, at the moment when our Saviour expired. Descending to the floor of the church, he saw this rent still more distinctly, and opposite to it a monument, covering, marvellous to be said, the head of Adam!

Having thus accomplished the tour of the church, the visitor returned to the holy sepulchre itself. Taking off his shoes on the marble platform in front, he was admitted by a low door; and in the centre of the first chamber beheld, as in the earlier accounts, the very stone which, it is pretended, was rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre. Again stooping, and lower than before, he entered the inner chamber, the holiest of holy places. "The sepulchre," he says, "is a marble sarcophagus, somewhat resembling a common marble bathing-tub, with a lid of the same material. Over it hang forty-three lamps, which burn without ceasing, night and day. The sarcophagus is six feet and one inch long, and occupies about one half of the chamber; and one of the monks being always present to receive the gifts or tribute of the pilgrims, there is only room for three or four at a time to enter. The walls are of a greenish marble, usually called verd-antique."

Such is the description of the holy sepulchre, given by Mr. Stephens, and it is well worthy of observation that it closely agrees with those of a much earlier date. There is every reason, indeed, to believe that the spot, so venerated by the Christians of the East in the present day, has undergone no material alteration since the period, when it was first visited by the hosts of pilgrims, who were ready to shed their blood to deliver it from the hands of the infidel. How it acquired such sanctity in the eyes of those devoted worshippers it would be difficult to explain, if we did not go back to a very remote tradition; and it would be still more difficult to explain the origin of such a tradition, if utterly without foundation; if directly opposed to the truth.

But, unhappily, in this, as in almost all cases of a similar kind, the devotion to the outward object was in direct antagonism to the principles in which it ought to have its birth. The worship due to the Saviour is given to his supposed sepulchre. Contemplations which should have inspired obedience, end in a wild and profane fanaticism.

Nothing can be more distressing than the agreement in this respect between the accounts given by travellers visiting the holy sepulchre, so long back as the time of Maundrell, and those of our own times. "That," says the writer referred to, "which has always been the great prize contended for by the several sects, is the command and appropriation of the holy sepulchre; a privilege contested with so much unchristian fury and animosity, especially between the Greeks and Latins, that in disputing which party should go into it to celebrate mass, they have sometimes proceeded to blows and wounds, even at the very door of the sepulchre, mingling their own blood with their sacrifices; an evidence of which fury the father-guardian showed us in a great scar upon his arm, which he told us was the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest, in one of these unholy wars."*

Now let us compare this with what is occurring among the worshippers at the holy sepulchre in our own days. "Our visits to the Church of the Sepulchre were frequent, as we happened to be present in Jerusalem during the 'holy week' of both the Latins and the Greeks, one of which immediately followed the other. Once in three years they occur together; the second year they succeed each other, as on this occasion; and the third, an interval of seven days elapses between the termination of the one and the commencement of the other. It is when both parties require access to the tomb at the same, or nearly the same time, that the most disgraceful scenes are witnessed. The church is then crowded to excess by pilgrims, all anxious to obtain the best places, and scuffling for them without shame or awe; so that children, women, and even men, are often killed. But accidents constitute the least melancholy part of the drama. With or without provocation, the opposite parties, animated by religious hate, and impelled by their priests, proceed to blows; the hallowed shrine is stained with the blood of murderers and the murdered; and Turkish soldiers are forced to interfere, and drag violently from the fray Christian combatants; nay, Christian priests, wielding their bludgeons over the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace! Could anything rival the horror of such a scene, it would be that inspired by the conduct of the Turks themselves. Accustomed to regard Christians as dogs, and to detest them as idolaters; too long habituated to the riots and murders of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and justly considering the pilgrims and priests who figure there as among the most foolish and degraded of their race, the indignities they inflict on them know no bounds. If a Turk of rank, or a Frank gentleman wish to pass through the crowd, a *kowass* will

* Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, March 26.

precede him with a stick, dealing his blows right and left with a mercilessness which makes the beholder shudder; and the hierarchy at the very altar crouch and bleed under the strokes of the infidel."*

The contemplation of such proceedings, amid such scenes, arouses in the mind a mingled feeling of surprise, indignation, and sorrow. But if so painful an emotion is excited by the conduct of Christian worshippers at the supposed tomb of their Lord, what ought we not to feel when the offence is committed, not against an imagined or symbolical sanctity of place, but against the Living Truth, the eternal holiness of the Saviour? Yet how much readier are we to express our horror in the one case than in the other! so evident is it, that, in another form, he who most prides himself upon his enlightenment may offend against the truth as much as these infatuated worshippers; for if he feel more offended at their inconsistency than at the inconsistency of the world, he sets a higher value upon the decencies of an outward religion, than on its doctrines and its spirit.

* Elliott, p. 449.

VIA CAPTIVITATIS—GETHSEMANE—MOUNT OF OLIVES—VIA DOLOROSA.

On the outside of the eastern wall of the city is the road which, leading from the place, where our Lord ate the last passover with his disciples, to Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives, and thence to the house of Caiaphas, has been called the *Via Captivitatis*, the Path of the Captivity. It runs close to the Valley of Jehoshaphat: and the old writers enumerate ten stations rendered peculiarly venerable by some circumstance connected with the history of our Lord's passion.* The beginning of this road passes through that part of the valley which has been called the Valley of Gehinnon, dividing Mount Sion from "the Mountain of Offence," so named, because Solomon there sacrificed to Chemosh and Molech; and by Christians called "the Mountain of Ill Counsel," because there the Pharisees took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. In this once beautiful, but now melancholy valley, those awful exhibitions of idolatry took place, in which all natural feeling, the direst of sacrifices, was given up to the dread voice of the spirit of evil. It was here that parents made their children to pass through the fire to Molech; and that Tophet resounded with the mingled shrieks of these human victims, and the wildest uproar of maddened superstition. When king Josiah brake down the idol to which this terrible worship had been rendered, Gehenna was appointed to be a receptacle for dead carcases, and all the filth of the city. The fires which were continually kept burning to consume this filth; the heavy volumes of smoke rolling along the rocks, and broken only by the flames which glared redly through it, gave an unspeakable horror to the scene; and hence our Lord, in alluding to the place of final punishment, calls it Gehenna. On the south side of this valley, near its union with the Valley of Jehoshaphat, some way up on the side of the mountain, is *Aceldama*, or the Field of Blood, the place to bury strangers in. When Sandys visited this spot it still retained its ancient character. In the midst was a large square inclosure; the south side being walled by the natural rock, flat at the top, and equal with the upper level. This was furnished with little cupolas, through the openings in which the bodies were let down to their appointed resting-place. "Through these openings," says Sandys, "we might see the bottom, all covered with bones; and certain corses but newly let down; it being now the sepulchre of the Armenians. A greedy grave, and great

* Quaresmius, Elucidatio, t. ii. lib. iv. p. 150.

enough to devour the dead of a whole nation; for they say, and I believe it, that the earth thereof, within the space of eight and forty hours, will consume the flesh that is laid thereon. In the rock about there are divers sepulchres, and some in use at this day, having great stones rolled against their mouths, according to the ancient custom. Beyond, on the point of the hill, a cave hewn out of the rock, consisting of several rooms, is said to have hidden six of the apostles in the time of Christ's passion; first, without doubt, made for a sepulchre, and afterwards serving for a hermitage." *

The brook, or torrent of Kedron, which once ran, deep and rapid, through the Valley of Gehinnon and Jehoshaphat, was fed not only by waters from the mountains, but by the pools and fountains in its neighbourhood. The old geographer, Adrichomius, describes it as permeating scenes of great beauty and fertility; its murmurs delighting the ear; and the pleasant woods and gardens, on its banks, charming the eye. † No traces of this sylvan loveliness now exist. In the summer Kedron is dry; and in the winter it rolls along a path of gloom and desolation.

According to Doubdan, ‡ and other writers, the Valley of Jehoshaphat runs between Mount Sion and Mount Moriah, on which the western portion of the city is built, and the Mount of Olives and the Hill of Offence, towards the east. Its length from north to south is about two thousand paces; and its depth in reference to the town, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty; in regard to Mount Olivet, from five to six hundred feet. At one part, it is only just broad enough to form a channel for the brook Kedron; but it enlarges as the mountains retreat, and for a short space is two or three hundred paces wide. This valley of tombs and shadows, § has been called at different times, the Valley of Kedron, because of the dark torrent for which it affords a channel; and the Royal Valley, because it was once the scene in which kings and nobles delighted to contemplate the richest, as well as the most solemn, features of nature. Its more common name it has derived either from the circumstance that king Jehoshaphat constructed his tomb amid its quiet shades, or, as St. Jerome supposes, from the words of the prophecy, "I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people, and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land." ‖

Both Jews and Turks, and even Christians, have for many ages believed that this Valley of "the Judgment of the Lord," the literal meaning of *Jehoshaphat*, will be

* Relation of a Journey, lib. iii. p. 186. 1627.

† In cujus utraque ripa multæ, densæ, ac fructiferæ crescebant arbores: quarum amæna facies, unà cum vicinis hortis, qui limpidissimis aquis Cedron, irrigabantur, obambulantium oculos animumque amænabat. Elucidatio, t. ii. p. 155.

‡ Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte, p. 261. 1657. § Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b ii. p. 523.

‖ Joel iii. 2. Quaresmius takes pains to show that the gathering spoken of will not be confined to the narrow valley itself, but will extend to the circumjacent region. Elucidatio, t. ii. lib. iv. p. 154.

the scene of the great assize. This notion, it has been supposed, derives additional credibility from the words of the angels, who, when our Lord had ascended into heaven, proclaimed that he shall so come again, as he had been seen to go into heaven;* justifying the belief, that having ascended from Mount Olivet, he will reappear there, surrounded by a glorious assemblage of saints and angels, and proceed to the judgment of the nations gathered together in the valley beneath.

The Valley of Jehoshaphat has been, from time immemorial, a place of burial for the Jews. Tradition here points to the spot in which the remains of the Virgin Mary were solemnly entombed; and over which the Empress Helena built a magnificent church. About eighteen paces from the brook Kedron, towards the east, is a square tomb, surrounded by a pyramid, and this is supposed to contain the ashes of the prophet Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar. The Jews, it is said, fast on the anniversary of his death, and visit this tomb, prostrating themselves before it with tears and lamentations.

At a little distance from this tomb, is that of Absalom. Many of the Jews suppose that that rebellious son of David was not buried there, but died beyond Jordan, and had only a heap of stones for his monument.† It is the common custom, however, of the passer by, whether Jew or Turk, to cast something at the tomb, and utter a malediction on the name of Absalom for his filial ingratitude. The tomb, which is said to have been constructed by David, is sixteen feet square, being ornamented with ten pillars, and four pilasters with Doric architraves, and a heavy dome. The whole, like that of Zacharias, is cut out of the solid rock, and stands distinct from the surrounding mass. The tomb of Jehoshaphat is near that of Absalom, cut in the rock, and presenting the appearance of a church.

A little beyond these remarkable sepulchres, and at the foot of Mount Olivet, is a spot which requires no monument built with hands to render it sacred in the eyes of Christians. This is the Garden of Gethsemane; in which the same characteristics of solitude and gloom fill the mind with awe, as in the time of our Lord. Even the most sceptical of travellers are not disposed to question the identity of this place with the scene of the Redeemer's agony. Eight olive-trees, of immense growth, and unknown antiquity, still connect the present with the past by the strongest of associations; and cold indeed must be the heart which owns the worth of salvation, but can fail, in the Garden of Gethsemane, to feel anxious to glorify its author with sacrifices of love and obedience.

Gethsemane is to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, like the conclusion of some melancholy chapter in a history of great events. The tombs of kings, princes, and prophets, bring before the mind a mighty, though condensed, narrative of the most wonderful occurrences. But human sin and folly infected the whole current of life, as thus flowing on in the dark channel of ancient dispensations. When the

* Eugene Roger, La Terre Sainte, liv. i. p. 149. † Idem. p. 156. 1664.

hour was come for the judgment of the world, the accumulated mass of ill pressed with all its weight upon the innocent brow of man's heroic Saviour. Gethsemane, as the scene of his agony, has an aspect of gloom and sadness far deeper than that of he Valley of Jehoshaphat, though pre-eminently the place of tombs. This valley is described as exhibiting a desolate appearance; the west side being a lofty lime-stone cliff, supporting the walls of the city; while the east is formed by the Mount of Olives, and the Mount of Offence, so called, we have seen, from its being the scene of Solomon's idolatry. These hills are of a dull red colour, and destitute of verdure, except in the few spots where the rock affords a scanty nourishment for the wild olive, the vine, and the hyssop. In other parts, the nakedness of the overhanging cliffs is concealed by the ruins of chapels, oratories, and mosques; and the channel of Kedron, derives a strange look from the little stone bridge thrown across its exhausted torrent. Everything in the neighbourhood of the valley is sad and still. "From the dulness of Jerusalem," says Chateaubriand, "whence no smoke arises, no noise proceeds; from the solitude of these hills, where no living creature is to be seen; from the ruinous state of all these tombs, overthrown, broken, and half open; you would imagine that the last trump had already sounded, and that the Valley of Jehoshaphat was about to render up its dead."

The fountain of Siloa springs from the foot of Mount Sion, and waters a portion of the Valley of Gehinnon. A few minutes distant from the fountain is the pool of the same name, the former still pouring forth a placid stream, but the latter being nothing better than a stagnant reservoir. It was from this pool, in ancient times, that the water necessary for the service of the temple was drawn. On the last day of the feast golden vessels were employed for this purpose, and to this the words of Isaiah may be supposed to allude:—"With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation."* It was to the pool of Siloam that our Lord sent the blind man, whose sight he restored, to wash; and a church formerly existed on the spot in commemoration of the miracle. In the immediate neighbourhood, also, of this pool is the place where the prophet Isaiah is said to have suffered his cruel martyrdom, being sawn asunder. Tradition further reports that he was buried under the oak Rogel, replaced by a white mulberry tree; and close by, in former times, might be seen the ruins of the tower which fell upon the eighteen persons, respecting whom our Lord asked, "Think ye that they were sinners above all the men that dwell in Jerusalem?"†

The Mount of Olives, as we have seen, is only separated from Jerusalem, by the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Thus St. Luke describes it as distant a Sabbath day's journey. From its summit, Jerusalem is seen in all its varied extent, imagination filling up the now desolate spaces with the proud structures which once crowded upon the sight. The mountain has three distinct summits; of which the centre is the highest.

* Chap. xii. 3. † Luke xiii. 4.

Upon each, it is said, some idolatrous temple was erected in the time of Solomon, the loftiest being devoted to the worship of Ashtaroth. The piety of Josiah obliterated all traces of these abominations; and Mount Olivet has been contemplated for ages as the appointed scene of the noblest events. St. Augustine speaks of it as the fruitful mountain, the mountain of balm and perfumes; the mountain of anointing; and as consecrated by our Lord's frequent presence; by his prayers, his exhortations, his tears and watchings. St. Jerome calls it the mountain of the three lights; and observes that it was here our Lord, when asked by his disciples what would be the signs of his coming, gave that awful account of the future judgment, which still remains for the warning and edification of his people. It was here he was met by the multitude bearing palms and olive-branches, when he was preparing to enter Jerusalem; and it was from the summit of this hill that he ascended into heaven in the sight of his astonished, but rejoicing, disciples.

Every step, almost, which the pilgrim sets in the ascent to the top of this hallowed mountain, brings before him some legendary memorial of our Lord, or his disciples. The traditions are characteristic of the ready faith of early travellers. Thus a little beyond the sepulchres of the prophets, and a short way up the mountain, twelve arched vaults are shown, marking the place in which, it is said, the apostles dwelt when they settled the grand outlines of the Christian profession. Sixty paces higher up is the spot on which our Lord sat when uttering his prophecy respecting the fall of Jerusalem. To the right of this is that which he rendered memorable by a second time dictating the great pattern of prayer to his disciples. Higher up is the place where the Virgin Mary is said to have been informed by an angel that her death would happen in three days; while the summit is still marked by remains of the structures which ancient piety erected in honour of circumstances much more credible than these creations of imagination. "So commanding," says Dr. Clarke, "is the view of Jerusalem from this mountain, that the eye roams over all the streets, and around the walls, as if in the survey of a plan, or model of the city. Towards the south appears the Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, a noble expanse of water, seeming to be within a short ride of the city, but the real distance is much greater. Lofty mountains enclose it with prodigious grandeur. To the north are seen the verdant and fertile pastures of the Plains of Jericho, watered by the Jordan, whose course may be distinctly discerned." So also Mr. Stephens:—"The olive still maintains its place on its native mountain, and now grows spontaneously upon its top and sides, as in the days of David and our Saviour. In a few moments we reached the summit, the view from which embraces, perhaps, more interesting objects than any other in the world. The Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the City of Jerusalem, the Plains of Jericho, the Valley of Jordan, and the Dead Sea." This traveller, like others, adds, that on the top of the mountain is a miserable Arab village, in the centre of which is a small octagonal building, erected, according to tradition, over the spot from which our

Lord ascended. Monkish tradition has made the most of this belief. The print of the Saviour's foot was left, it is said, upon the rock. This mark is enclosed in a sort of marble frame; and some pilgrim or the other may always be seen devoutly engaged in taking impressions of it on wax.

From the ruins of a monastery on one of the most commanding points of the hill, "the whole city," says Mr. Stephens, "lay extended before me like a map. I could see and distinguish the streets, and the whole interior, to the inner side of the further wall. And oh! how different from the city of our Saviour's love. Though even then but a mere appendage of imperial Rome, it retained the magnificent wonders of its Jewish kings, and pre-eminent even among the splendid fanes of heathen worship, rose the proud and magnificent temple. Centuries ago that temple was a heap of ruins. In the prophetic words of our Saviour, not one stone was left upon another; and, in the wanton spirit of triumph, a conquering general drove his plough over its site. For years the very site lay buried in ruins; till the Saracen came with his terrible war-cry, 'The Koran or the sword!' and the great Mosque of Omar, the holy of holies, in the eyes of all true Moslems, now rears its lofty dome upon the foundations of the temple of Solomon."

But, impressive as is the spectacle thus brought before us, when connected with recollections of the past, Jerusalem, as seen from the point here spoken of, presents in itself no feature of interest or grandeur. "The Mosque of Omar," says Mr. Stephens, "was the only object that relieved the general dulness of the city; all the rest was dark, monotonous, and gloomy." And again: "All was as still as death; and the only sign of life that I could see, was the straggling figure of a Mussulman, with his slippers in his hand, stealing up the long court-yard to the threshold of the mosque." While, however, the scene contemplated from the mountain has undergone so sad a change, the mountain itself, retaining its ancient name, stands like an imperishable monument; a mighty pillar, on which some immortal being has painted in symbols the history of the past. We still seem to see David passing with his melancholy troop of followers over the brook Kedron; ascending the mount, weeping, with his head covered and his feet bare, and the whole multitude, like their king, pouring out their soul in tears.* In the fulness of time, another spectacle presents itself; and the Son of David, he whose throne shall endure for ever and ever, appears on the mount alone, or with some few poor followers, to pray and prepare himself for the cross. And still another scene in the eventful drama; and the proud Roman, surrounded by generals and counsellors, in all the pomp of war, stands on the spot where David wept, and Jesus prayed and prophesied.

On descending the Mount of Olives, and passing the stone bridge over the brook Kedron, the pilgrim reaches by a steep path the supposed site of St. Stephen's

* 2 Sam. xv. 23—32. "And David went," &c.

martyrdom. The flat tablet of rock is still shown on which his blood is said to have been shed; and close at hand is the gate known by his name. Here too is the pool of Bethesda, but retaining only two of its porches; and hard by is another avenue, which, like the *Via Captivitatis*, has long been regarded as sacred.

This is the *Via Dolorosa*, the road along which our Lord passed to Calvary, and which tradition has marked with so many tender memorials of his patience and sufferings. Thus, the spot is shown where he is said to have fallen under the weight of his cross. In a ruined gallery is a two-arched window, at which Pilate is believed to have stood when he pronounced the memorable words, as he presented Jesus to the people, "Behold the man!" About a hundred paces beyond this, are the remains of a church, built on the spot where the mother of our Lord met him, and felt the first agonizing throb, which fulfilled the prophetic warning, that "a sword should pass through her own soul also." Sixty paces further on, where the street meets with that which leads to the Damascus gate, Simon the Cyrenean, coming out of the country, met the throng, and was compelled to bear the cross, under which Jesus was again sinking. A little to the left of this stood the crowd of weeping women, to whom our Lord said, "Weep not for me, ye daughters of Jerusalem; but weep for yourselves, and for your children." The next object of veneration is the place where it is said Veronica dwelt, the pious woman who, seeing our Lord's face covered with the blood which streamed from his wounded brows, gave him a napkin, and was rewarded with a miraculous impression of his countenance on the cloth. At the end of the street are the remains of the ancient gate, in former times known as the Gate of the Jebusites, and the Gate of Judgment, it being that through which criminals commonly passed to the place of execution. Here our Lord entered upon the open path to Calvary, the foot of which is said to have been about eight hundred paces from the house of Pilate.

It requires no skill in criticism to prove the incredibility of traditions like most of these. But neither the present state of Jerusalem itself, nor the character of the larger portion of its Christian inhabitants, either in this or past ages, could be fairly understood, without some mention of the places to which this visionary sanctity has been given by an erring piety.

Most of the sites which enjoy this species of reverence have been adorned by churches, more or less interesting according to the traditions with which their names are connected. Of these edifices some are now in ruins, but others retain many traces of their early grandeur. Among the latter are those built on the spots formerly occupied by the prison in which St. Peter was confined; by the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark; and by that on which the venerable James the Great suffered martyrdom.

This last-mentioned church is said to have been built by the kings of Spain, who also founded the monastery, if this account be true, for the use of Spanish pilgrims. It has, however, been long in the possession of the Armenians, the wealth

and dignity of whose religious orders tend materially to preserve the foundation in its original state. The cupola which surmounts the church and is open at top, like that of the holy sepulchre, is supported by four noble pillars. Behind one of these pillars is a little chapel, sumptuously decorated; and beneath the altar is the stone upon which, it is said, the holy martyr was beheaded, by the command of Herod.

Travellers agree in describing the Armenian monks as having the appearance of men, who know well how to maintain and enjoy their privileges. A similar testimony is borne to the character of the numerous pilgrims of the same nation, who come up to Jerusalem to keep the holy week.

MOUNT ZION AND MOUNT MORIAH—ACRA AND BEZETHA.

On the mention of Mount Zion, the image of Old Jerusalem rises to view, with all the circumstances of its ancient pomp and glory. But independent of the associations which give so much of interest to the locality, it has an importance which every inquirer recognises, when endeavouring to form any probable conjecture of the plan, or extent, of the city in by-gone times. The four hills are still traced which secured to Jerusalem, from age to age, its most remarkable features; its indelible characteristic as a city which might become waste and desolate, but could not be forgotten. These eminences are Mount Zion, Mount Moriah, Acra, and Bezetha. On each, the patient eye of inquiry has discovered some trace of the past, and the valleys which divide the one from the other serve, though indistinctly, to mark the several quarters of the city. It is a matter of controversy, however, whether the hills now designated by the above names be strictly entitled to the reverence with which they are viewed. Of Moriah, it is said, there seems to be the least, of Zion the most doubt. The former occupies the south-west, the latter the south-east corner of the city; Acra and Bezetha being on the north-west and north-east.

Mount Zion, if correctly traced, is partly within, and partly without, the walls of the modern city. The foundations of the palace of David may still, it is supposed, be viewed on its rocky brow. Here too was the house of Caiaphas, the high-priest; and here is pointed out the spot on which the house stood in which our Lord celebrated his last passover; while close at hand are the supposed sepulchres of David and Solomon. About fifty paces from the Cœnaculum, once stood the the house, replaced by a church, in which the disciples were assembled on the day of Pentecost. And here, it is said, Peter preached the sermon which was attended with such glorious results; and the apostles assembled when they held the first council of the Christian Church. These sites were anciently inclosed by churches and chapels, the gift of princely piety to the devout spirit of the age. Mosques and monasteries have successively occupied the same spots; and, at present, a large portion of the Jewish population have their miserable habitations on this once palace-crowned eminence.

The natural position of Zion; its superior height to that of the surrounding elevations; and the noble view which it commanded, gained it celebrity in the most

ancient times.* Such was the strength of the citadel with which it had been crowned, in the remotest ages, that the Israelites found themselves unable to drive the Jebusites, who inhabited it, from their hold. David having made himself master of the fortress, regarded it as the very centre of his own peculiar city, as the first and best fruits of his conquests. Antiochus Epiphanes gained possession of this stronghold of Zion through the infamous treachery of Menelaus; and it remained in the hands of this most cruel enemy of the Jewish nation, till the Maccabees nobly reasserted the honour of their race. Acra challenges, in some points, this historical importance of Mount Zion; but there seems good reason to believe that it was around this venerable mountain, that the fiercest of those struggles took place which ended in the ruin of the nation. Much depends, it is considered, on determining the correct position of these two hills. Some writers, the learned Reland† observes, place Zion to the North, and Acra to the South. But this opinion he confutes, by a careful comparison of certain passages in Josephus.‡ Whatever their position in this respect, they were only separated from each other by a narrow valley, long known by the name of *Tyropœon*, or "The Valley of the Cheesemongers." Of the two hills, that which contained the upper city, he states, was considerably the higher, answering to the general descriptions of Zion; while Acra, on which the lower city was built, is represented as shaped "like a moon when she is horned." Bezetha, the other mountain named in the latter history of Jerusalem, was first brought within the circuit of the walls by Agrippa, and being soon covered with buildings, received its appellation of "The New City." But this hill, with Moriah and Ophel, another rocky eminence, are regarded as forming one connected mountain ridge. According to the Jewish historian, Bezetha was situated over against the "Tower of Antonia;" and such was the dread entertained of its proximity to the fortress, that the rulers of the time had a deep valley, or trench, dug, to prevent the army of an enemy, should he gain this height, from passing over to Zion. In speaking of the three walls by which Jerusalem was surrounded, Josephus says, that the oldest of the three was hard to be taken, both on account of the valleys and of the height of the hill on which it was built. It was also, he adds, of great strength; for David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous in keeping up this portion of the fortifications. This wall commenced at the tower of "Hippicus," and extended as far as the "Xystus," some place, it is supposed, of public amusement, or assembly, and joining the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But tracing it in a western direction, and from the same point, it passed through a place called "Bethso," to the gate of the Essenes. It then took a southward direction, above the fountain of Siloam; whence it again inclined towards the east, at Solomon's Pool; and reached as far as a place called "Ophlas,"

* Quaresmius Elucidatio, Terræ Sanct. t. ii. p. 117. † Reland, Palæstina, t. ii. lib. iii. p. 846.
‡ Wars, b. vi. c. vi. c. viii.

where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple. The second wall, it is said, began at the gate called "Gennath," which belonged to the first wall; encompassing the northern quarter of the city, and reaching as far as the Tower of Antonia. Of the third wall, it is stated, that it commenced at the Tower of Hippicus; whence it extended to the northern quarter of the city, and the Tower of Psephinus. It then continued for a considerable distance, passing the tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and the sepulchral caverns of the kings. Making a sharp angle at what was called "The Monument of the Fuller," it joined the old wall at the Valley of Kedron.

The third was begun by King Agrippa; but fearful of exciting the suspicions of Claudius Cæsar, he left the work to be completed by bolder architects. The magnificence of the design, and the strength of Jerusalem as a fortress, may be well imagined from the account which Josephus gives of the wall, and the towers by which both this and the older parts of the fortifications were crowned. The wall was ten cubits wide and twenty high. Above this, it had battlements two cubits, and turrets three cubits high, so that its whole height was actually twenty-five cubits. The stones which connected the parts of this wall together, were twenty cubits long and ten broad, which never, it is said, could have been easily undermined, either by iron tools, or other instruments of war. Ninety towers were planted along this enormous wall. They are described as being twenty cubits in height, and the same in breadth; solid as the wall itself, and rivalling in the beauty of the stones, and the niceness with which they were compacted, the exquisite building of the temple. Above the towers, were rooms of great magnificence; and others above them, with cisterns to receive rain-water. "It was all of it wonderful," adds the historian, in a manner expressive of intense admiration. Yet was the Tower of Psephinus elevated above it, at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent; for, being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, and of the furthest limits of the Hebrew possessions by the sea westward. This tower was octagon in form. Opposite to it rose that of Hippicus; and close by were two others, erected by Herod, and exceeding, it is said, by their vastness, strength, and beauty, all that the habitable earth had seen. The Tower of Hippicus, the remains of which are still contemplated with astonishment, was twenty-five cubits in length and breadth, and thirty in height. It was a solid mass of masonry, composed of huge stones. But above this there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep; then a house of two stories, rising to the height of twenty-five cubits, with battlements two, and turrets three cubits high; so that the entire height was eighty cubits. The Tower of Phasælus was ten cubits higher, and at the top were elegant cloisters, richly ornamented chambers, and a bath, so that it had all the appearance of a royal residence. Another tower, which Herod built to the memory of Mariamne, as he did those above described, in honour of his friend Hippicus and his brother Phasælus, is mentioned by the historian. This was not of such vast proportions;

but it was still more superbly ornamented; and afforded a melancholy proof of the vain efforts which the wretched monarch was making to quiet his remorse by doing honour to Mariamne's name.

Close to these towers, which were on the north side of the wall, stood the royal palace. Such was the splendour of this edifice, that the historian confesses his inability to describe it in any adequate terms. No cost or skill had been spared in its construction. It was surrounded by a wall thirty cubits high; and had guest-chambers sufficiently large to contain a hundred beds. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the furniture, the decorations of the walls and ceilings, or the beauty of the gold and silver vessels. It is worthy of remark, that at the time when Josephus wrote so glowingly of the Palace on Mount Zion, of the grandeur of the edifice itself, and of the lovely gardens inclosed within its walls, he had become familiar with the magnificence of Rome, and with the sweetest of Italian scenes. But not even the imperial capital, it seems; not the most verdant of Ausonian groves and valleys, could bear comparison, in his mind, with the remembered glories of Zion.

Mount Moriah, which rises to the north-east of Zion, is still regarded by the Jewish Rabbis as the spot on which Abraham offered up his son Isaac. Christian writers are also generally inclined to support the same opinion. But some dispute the identity of the mountain, rendered so venerable by the great parent-act of faith, with that on which the temple reared its majestic front. The summit of Moriah did not originally afford an area sufficiently large for the purposed edifice. King Solomon, therefore, erected a wall on the east side, and by means of huge embankments, obtained the required space. The same method was pursued with the other sides of the hill, where additional room was needed, and thus the narrow ridge of rock afforded a surface sufficient for the most magnificent structure in the world.

It is on the less celebrated hill of Akra, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands; while Bezetha is only distinguished, even by tradition, as the supposed site of the house of Anna, and of the palace of Herod Agrippa.

The inquiries which have been instituted by modern travellers respecting the extent of the Temple, and the probable remains of its gigantic foundations, are highly interesting, and certainly not without their use. But we must pass by such speculations, to describe the objects which at present constitute the most remarkable features of Jerusalem. Of these, the Mosque of Omar, occupying the sacred site of the temple, is, next to the Holy Sepulchre, though for very different reasons, the most interesting.

This far-famed building is not so much a single mosque, as a collection, or group of mosques. Its proper name, *El Hàram*, signifies a temple, a place, that is, consecrated by the especial presence of divinity. The Mussulmans, we are told, recogni e only two temples, as such; that is, their celebrated mosque at Mecca, and the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem. Both these edifices have a peculiar sanctity in their

eyes; and both are closed, by the strictest laws, against Jews, Christians, and all, in short, who do not profess the faith of the Koran. The ordinary mosques are known, in Arabic, by a word signifying simply, "a place of assembly;" they are regarded with respect, but are not supposed to be the abode of divinity. Hence, though the appearance of infidels is never agreeable to a pious Mussulman, the gate of the mosque is closed by no law against them. They are permitted to enter, if bearing the proper official order; but in the case of the mosque at Mecca, and that of Omar, the highest officer of the state dare not give an infidel permission to enter. A violation of the law in respect to these edifices, would be viewed in the light of a horrible sacrilege; the order would be despised; and the unhappy bearer, attempting to employ it, would be torn to pieces by the multitude.

El Hàram forms the south-east angle of the city, and occupies, it is believed, the exact site of the ancient temple. The Mussulman historians describe the latter building as measuring one thousand five hundred and sixty-three feet in length, and nine hundred and thirty-eight in breadth; whereas the present measures one thousand three hundred and sixty-nine feet in length, and eight hundred and forty-five in breadth

It forms a vast court, or closed area, and is entered by nine gates, of which five are on the west side, one on the north-west, and three on the north. There are no gates on the east or south, these sides of the mosque being closed by the city walls, which here overhang the precipices of the brook Kedron, and the ravine which separates Mount Zion to the south.*

The principal part of the edifice is composed of two magnificent masses of building, which might be regarded as separate temples, but for their contiguity, and symmetrical relation to each other. Of these grand divisions of the mosque, the one is called *El-Aksa*, and the other *El-Sahhara*.

El-Aksa consists of seven naves, which are supported by pillars and columns. The centre nave is terminated by a splendid cupola. Two other naves open to the right and left of the main body of the building, which is approached by a portico of seven arcades in front, and one in depth, resting on massive square pillars. The central nave is about 162 feet long, and 32 wide; the seven arches on which it rests being slightly pointed, and supported by cylindrical pillars, without architectural proportion, and the chapiters of which are capriciously covered with decorations belonging to no order. The fourth pillar, to the right, is octagonal, of large dimensions, and called the pillar of Sidi Omar.

The walls rise to the height of thirteen feet above the arches, with two rows of twenty-one windows in each. Those of the upper line are seen from without, the central nave being higher than the rest. The other range of windows opens upon the interior of the building. A circular wall, somewhat higher than a man, de-

* Voyages d'Ali Bey, t. iii. c. vi. p. 130.

fends the entrance to the three naves on the left, which are set apart for the women. The cupola is supported by four grand arches, resting on square pillars, decorated by fine columns of brown marble. The structure itself is spherical, with two lines of windows, and is ornamented with paintings and beautiful golden arabesques. Between the cupola and the end wall is a space of about eight feet; and there it is that the *monbar* is placed, or the tribune for the preacher on Fridays. In the wall at the end of the nave, the *mehereb* is also seen; and it is here that the Imaum stands whose duty it is to direct the worship of the people. It is a niche ornamented with a frontispiece of various beautiful marbles, the most remarkable of which, are six small columns of red and green. The collateral naves of the cupola are also supported by columns of brown marble, of the same kind as that of the columns which support the middle arches. The aisle which branches to the left, at right angles to the bottom of the central nave, is formed of a very low and simple vault. Here, it is said, the Caliph Omar, that pattern of Mussulman piety, was wont to perform his devotions. It is supposed to be about 72 feet long. Just beneath the cupola, on the right, fronting the *monbar*, is the place appointed for the singers. It is constructed of wood, but supported by several small pillars of different coloured marbles. At the side of the *monbar* is a niche, decorated with ornamental wood-work. It is called the *Place of Christ*, and is used as a sacristy; the Imaum issuing from this room, in great pomp and ceremony, when about to perform the solemn services of the Friday. In the entrance nave to the left, near that of the Caliph Omar, is a kind of chapel or niche ornamented with marble, and which is designated as the *Gate of Mercy*.

Immediately in front of the principal gate of the *Aksa*, is a noble causeway, two hundred and eighty-four feet long. In the middle is a beautiful marble bason, with a fountain in the form of a shell. At the end a magnificent flight of steps conducts to the Sahhara; and the whole appearance of this part of the mosque is calculated to inspire admiration for its beauty and extent. But contrasted with all this grandeur, are several buildings of the most wretched description, raised against the left side of the Aksa, and intended as residences for the numerous officers engaged in the service of the mosque.

The other division of the temple, called El-Sahhara, derives its name from the rock in the centre, about which so many wonderful things have been told, and which is consequently an object of the profoundest veneration among the devout Mussulmans. The edifice rises from a vast platform of four hundred and sixty feet in length, from north to south, and three hundred and ninety-nine in width, from east to west, being elevated about sixteen feet above the general plane of the Haram. It is ascended by eight flights of steps; and in the middle of this marble platform stands the Sahhara, the form of which is octagonal, each side measuring sixty-one feet. The four gates by which the worshippers enter are variously ornamented. That on the south, has a noble portico, supported by eight marble

pillars of the Corinthian order. Those on the other three sides are surmounted with fine timber-work, suspended, and without any columns. From the centre rises the superb cupola, which forms so conspicuous an object in the views of Jerusalem. It has two rows of large windows; and is supported by four huge pillars, and twelve splendid columns.

The central circle of this remarkable edifice is surrounded by two octangular concentric naves, separated from each other by eight pillars, and sixteen columns, of the same order and size as those of the centre, and of the finest brown marble. The roofs, like those of other parts of the building, are flat, but covered with ornaments in exquisite taste, with mouldings of marble and gold. The capitals of the columns are of the composite order, richly gilt. The total diameter of the edifice is said to be about one hundred and fifty-nine feet, that of the cupola being about forty-seven feet, and its height ninety-three.

To indicate its peculiar sanctity, the plane of the central circle is raised three feet above that of the surrounding naves; and is enclosed by a lofty and magnificent railing of iron, gilt. Within this mysterious round stands the sacred rock, called *El-Sahhara-Allah.*

This object of Mussulman veneration resembles the segment of a sphere, and rises, it is said, upon a mean diameter of thirty-three feet. Its surface retains its natural appearance, and is unequal and rugged. There is, however, a sort of hollow on the north side; and this is said to have been formed by the Christians, who broke off the part which is wanting, and endeavoured to carry it away. But the tradition says, they were defeated in their attempt. The mass of rock became invisible; and it was afterwards found in two pieces, which were carefully preserved by the Mussulmans, and placed in some other part of the temple.

According to the Mohammedan notion, the Sahhara-Allah is the place whence, with the single exception of El-Kaaba, or the house of God, at Mecca, the prayers of men ascend most acceptably to heaven. "It is on this account," says Ali Bey, "that all the prophets, since the creation of the world, to the time of the prophet Mohammed, have come hither to pray; and that even now the prophets and angels gather together in invisible troops, to make their prayers on the rock, exclusive of the ordinary guard of seventy thousand angels, who perpetually surround it, and who are relieved every day."

The same writer thus repeats the tradition so firmly believed in by the more devout of his supposed brethren. "On the night when the prophet Mohammed was carried away from Mecca by the angel Gabriel, and transported in a moment through the air to Jerusalem, upon the mare called El-Borak, which has the head and neck of a beautiful woman, a crown, and wings, the prophet, after leaving El-Borak at the gate of the temple, came to offer up his prayer upon El-Sahhara, with the other

* Voyages d'Ali Bey, t. iii. c. iv. p. 140.

prophets and angels, who having saluted him respectfully, yielded to him the place of honour. At the moment when the prophet stood upon El-Sahhara, the rock, as if sensible of the privilege of bearing so sacred a burden, depressed itself, and, becoming like soft wax, received the print of his foot upon the upper part, towards the south-western border. This print is now covered with a kind of cage, formed of gilt wire, worked in such a manner that the print cannot be seen on account of the darkness within, but may be touched with the hand, through an opening, left for that purpose."

Ali Bey adds, that believers, after having touched the print of the sacred foot, proceed to sanctify themselves by passing the hand which touched it over the face and beard.

In the interior of the rock is a cave. To this people descend by a staircase on the south-east side. The room below is about eighteen feet square, and eight feet high in the middle; its roof being rough and irregular. To the right, at the bottom of the staircase, is a small marble tablet, inscribed with the words, *El-Makam Souliman*, or *The Place of Solomon*. To the left is another, inscribed, *El-Makam Daoud*, or *The Place of David*. A cavity on the south-west side of the rock is called The Place of Abraham. Other niches are called The Place of Gabriel, and The Place of Elias. In the roof of the room, exactly in the centre, is a cylindrical aperture, penetrating almost the whole thickness of the rock, and about three feet in diameter. This is named *The Place of the Prophet*.

A wooden fence, about ten feet in height, surrounds the rock itself, and above this is a gorgeous canopy of red and green silk, suspended over the whole by means of pillars and columns. Ali Bey states that from what he himself could discover, the mass of the rock is composed of a reddish-white marble. Near the north side of the rock, embedded in the pavement, is a small piece of beautiful waved green marble, about fifteen inches square, and fastened down by gilt nails. This, it is said, is the gate of paradise. From several holes in the marble, it is supposed to have been originally fastened down by a larger number of nails. The tradition is, that they were pulled out by the devil, when he thought to invade paradise, but was prevented in his design by the impossibility of removing the the nails which still remain.

The Sahhara is externally incrusted with different kinds of marble to half its height; little square bricks of different colours forming a coating for the remainder. Each of the octagons is furnished with five large windows, of splendid painted glass, in arabesques. At the distance of a few feet from the Sahhara, and towards the east, facing the Gate of David, is a fine oratory, its roof supported by eleven antique columns of reddish calcareous stone, considered to be very precious. A magnificent little cupola adorns the centre of the oratory, and this is also supported by six columns of the same material. Ali Bey expresses it as his opinion that these columns, and those in the Sahhara itself, are remains of the ancient temple of Solomon. A niche

between two of the columns, and forming a place of prayer, is especially reverenced as the tribunal of David. Numerous little edifices, connected with the main building, are rendered sacred in the eyes of the Mussulmans by different traditions, or by their dedication to some religious purpose. They appear, however, to detract in no slight degree from the general grandeur and beauty of the edifice itself. Some of the traditions connected with these places are sufficiently startling. Thus, a subterranean vault, kept strictly under lock and key, is said to be the spot where the prophet, when he reached Jerusalem, after his midnight journey through the air from Mecca, alighted from El-Borak. The iron-ring, it is said, is still in the wall, to which he tied the mare, before he entered the temple to take his part in the devotions of the angels and prophets. Ali Bey supposes that here was anciently one of the gates of the temple; the upper part of a magnificent portal being still visible, a portion of it consisting of a single stone twenty feet long.

The space between the west side of the court El-Sahhara and El-Aksa, is occupied by several square platforms, raised two or three feet above the level of the court. They are paved with beautiful marble, and each has a niche for the Imaum, whose office it is to direct the prayers of the faithful. Between the platforms, and in other parts of the great court of the temple, are several cisterns, the margins of which are ornamented with marbles, columns, and cupolas. These cisterns serve as reservoirs for the rain-water, which being collected in sufficient quantities is then distributed among the people by the regular water-carriers. According to common report, the entire area of the Aksa is undermined; and a staircase is spoken of, near the principal gate, by which a descent is occasionally made to the vast vaults beneath.

It is interesting to contrast the course of the Mussulman pilgrim * in Jerusalem, with that of the Christian; and this we are enabled to do by the narrative of the intelligent traveller, to whom we are indebted for so good an account of the Mosque of Omar. When a Mussulman pilgrim, he says, arrives at Jerusalem, his first object is to visit the temple. On entering the edifice, he is immediately conducted to the part of the building called the *Throne of Solomon*. Here he says a prayer, before the *Gate of Mercy*, giving a small sum of money, intended for the scheik of the temple. He then proceeds to the place called El-Sirat, and ascending a flight of steps, again performs his devotions. From this spot, his attention is directed to one of the eight staircases leading to the platform of the Sahhara; and the arches over which are said to contain the invisible but eternal balance, in which the

* We shall, perhaps, somewhat mar the reader's satisfaction, in supposing that he is really being accompanied through the Mosque of Omar by a true Mussulman, when we tell him that Ali Bey was no other than the learned and enterprising Burckhardt. But for all the purposes of real information, this wonderful orientalist may properly be regarded as a Mussulman; for his acquirements were such that his disguise was impenetrable. The question, however, must often painfully rise to the mind, How could he retain that disguise in some situations without a fearful offence against truth?

actions of men will be weighed at the day of judgment. Close by, is the invisible bridge, which is described as sharper than the edge of a sword. Over this, it is said, faithful believers will glide rapidly as lightning, in their way to paradise; while the wicked, in endeavouring to pass it, will fall into the bottomless abyss which yawns beneath. Another prayer being repeated, the pilgrim at length reaches the Sahhara, and, performing his devotions by the mysterious rock, invokes the prophet, and sanctifies himself by touching the supposed print of the sacred foot. He is now prepared to enter the cave of the rock; and nothing, it is said, can be more vexatious than the pain attending the traversing of the court which leads to the several spots pointed out as sacred. There is no proper path to these stations, and the court being thickly covered with thistles and thorny plants, the pilgrim, who is obliged to walk barefoot, pays no small penalty for every act of devotion which he performs.

Ali Bey having fulfilled his supposed duty in respect to the temple, and given all the required alms, on the very day of his arrival in Jerusalem, was conducted the following morning to the sepulchre of David. He describes the edifice which covers the tomb as having the appearance of an ancient Greek church. On entering the building, his guide led him along a gallery running to the left, and leading to the sepulchre, which is inclosed by several doors and railings of iron. The monument itself is described as a kind of bier, covered with fine silk stuffs, of different colours, and richly ornamented.

Our traveller next visited in succession the various spots rendered venerable to the Mussulman, as well as to the Jew and the Christian, by ancient tradition. "The Mussulmans," he says, "offer up their devotions in all the holy places consecrated to the memory of Jesus Christ and the Virgin, except the church of the sepulchre. This is the only spot generally accounted sacred, the holiness of which they refuse to acknowledge. Their reason for doing so is founded on the well-known article of their creed; according to which they suppose that Christ did not really die, but that, imposing his likeness on Judas, the traitor was crucified in his stead."

The description which this distinguished orientalist gives of Jerusalem corresponds in most particulars with that of later travellers. He speaks in melancholy tones of the general want of intelligence among the people, to whatever class of religionists they belonged. "As in the case of Mecca," he says, "the sciences have entirely vanished from Jerusalem. There formerly existed large schools belonging to the Haram; but scarcely a trace even of these institutions now exists. A few small schools, where children of every form of worship learn to read and write the creed of their respective religion, are the only seminaries now existing. The grossest ignorance prevails even among persons of high rank, and who seem, on a first interview, to have received an accomplished education."

Of the females Ali Bey gives the following unflattering portrait. "I observed

but very few handsome females. On the contrary, they had mostly that bilious appearance so common in the East; a pale citron colour, or a dead white, like plaster, or paper. Sometimes, but very rarely, I saw one with a fine colour. They fix a white fillet round their faces, which gives them the appearance of walking corpses. Their cheeks are puffed, their noses slender; and very commonly their under lip is thicker and more prominent than the upper. Their eyes are regular, but without vivacity, and very different from those of the women of Arabia, which sparkle with fire. They are also ungraceful, and generally melancholy. Such is the miserable picture, unfortunately but too true, of the women of Jerusalem." *

Of the few European travellers who have penetrated into the interior of the Mosque of Omar, one of the most successful was Dr. Richardson. Not possessing the resolution, the peculiar accomplishments, or, perhaps, the facile mind and conscience of Ali Bey, he notwithstanding succeeded in gaining a view of the mysterious sanctuary. For his admission, he was indebted to the gratitude of a patient, who ventured upon showing his regard in this somewhat questionable and perilous manner. "On our arrival at the door," says Dr. Richardson, "a gentle knock brought up the sacristan, who, apprized of our intention, was within waiting to receive us. He demanded rather sternly who we were, and was answered by my black conductor in terms no less consequential than his own. The door immediately edged up, to prevent as much as possible the light from shining out; and we squeezed ourselves in with a gentle and noiseless step, although there was no person near, who could be alarmed by the loudest sound of our bare feet upon the marble floor. The door was no sooner shut, than the sacristan, taking a couple of candles in his hand, showed us all over the interior of the building, pointing, in the pride of his heart, to the elegant marble walls, the beautifully-gilded ceiling, the well where the true worshippers drink and wash, with which we also blessed our palates, and moistened our beards; the paltry reading-desk with the ancient Koran; the handsome columns, and the green stone with the wonderful nails. As soon as we had completed this circuit, pulling a key from his girdle, he unlocked the door of the railing that separates the outer from the inner part of the mosque, which, with an elevation of two or three steps, led us into the sacred recess. Here he pointed out the patches of mosaic in the floor; the round flat stone which the prophet carried on his arm in battle. He also directed us to introduce one hand through the hole in the wooden box, to feel the print of the prophet's foot, and through the posts of the wooden rail, to feel as well as to see the marks of the angel Gabriel's fingers (into which I carefully put my own) in the sacred stone which occupies the centre of the mosque; and from which it derives the name of Sahhara, or *Locked-up*, and over which is suspended a fine cloth of green and red satin."

* Voyages d'Ali Bey, t. iii. c. vii. p. 179.

The cavern described by Ali Bey was not opened for Dr. Richardson's inspection. He continued his survey, therefore, of the other parts of the edifice, as well as the imperfect light of a few lamps would allow him. "The columns and curiosities," he says, "were counted over again and again; the arches were specially examined and enumerated, that I might be sure of not missing or forgetting any of them. Writing would have been an ungracious behaviour, calculated to excite a thousand suspicions, which next day would have served to swell the current of the city gossip, to the prejudice both of myself and my friend. Having examined the adytum, we once more touched the footstep of the prophet, and the finger-prints of the angel Gabriel, and descended the steps, over which the door was immediately secured."

Dr. Richardson was subsequently permitted to visit the mosque in the daytime. His account agrees with that of Ali Bey, in the picture which it affords of the general extent and magnificence of the edifice. But there is one thing evidently wanting in such descriptions; the power, that is, of association; the mingled richness and force of delineation, which can only spring from a deep feeling of affectionate reverence. The picture of a religious edifice, drawn by one who has no sentiment of awe or love connected with its mysteries, can never be depended upon. However correct the outline, or gorgeous the colouring, it will not represent the primitive idea; the living thought and passion, to which the temple owes its form in the eyes of those who really worship within its courts. Though our curiosity, therefore, may be in some degree gratified by the accounts of travellers, penetrating the closed sanctuary, stealing through courts and vaults which were sealed against their approach, the information which we gain from them is of little real worth. We still see but the wood and stones of the edifice; and the picture presented to us would be repudiated by any one whose associations were mixed up with its name and history. It is the awe of invisible spirits; of angels and prophets, performing their constant service about some mysterious relic, which gives to the temple at Mecca, as well as to that of Jerusalem, its peculiar grandeur in the eyes of the Mussulman. The unbeliever forces his way into the sanctuary. He finds nothing in it to repay him for the toil or the danger which he has encountered. But while he is wondering how any of the forms or symbols, which he sees around him, should ever have inspired such veneration, the worshipper in the temple looks on the whole as invested with a splendour which justifies him, as it justified his forefathers, in regarding the structure as worthy of angelic admiration.

The accounts given by different travellers of the antiquities of Jerusalem, generally indicate both acuteness, and religious earnestness. But they are far too various to furnish any distinct information to a reader not willing, or prepared to enter into minute investigations. The happiest state of mind in respect to subjects of this kind, is that in which the past is most readily connected with the present, not by the degree of certainty attached to a tradition, or an argument, but by the

force of pious love; by that faculty of the soul which gives to its associations a glory, a substance, and reality which can never belong even to the most assured convictions attending mere research.

Were it not for this, neither Rome, Athens, nor Jerusalem would be able to exercise so powerful a fascination on thoughtful minds. It is not to antiquarian research; but to what the natural feelings of elevated souls have done for them, that they owe their long renown. Though every stone, or marble column, could be assigned its proper place in the ruined temple; though the steps of time could be traced so exactly back, that they might lead us up to the very cradle of the sublimest events, how little should we gain by all this, unless there were some one near us, to lift up the veil which would still conceal the noblest part of the truth—the spirit, as it were—of the great fact which it was the desire of our hearts to contemplate?

It is impossible to read what even the best and most ingenious travellers have said of Jerusalem, without discovering how little satisfied they felt when summing up the result of their inquiries. So long as they allowed their minds to delight in the rich enjoyment of such thoughts as the scenes around them were calculated to excite, the best object of their pilgrimage seemed answered. But as soon as they became occupied with minute topographical inquiries, Jerusalem appeared to vanish away. It no longer retained its sacred character. The spell of association was broken; and for the city of the great king, which had so long been enshrined in the memory, the mind had nothing to contemplate but doubtful relics, each of which was in its turn to be subjected to some new process of inquiry.

Had we nothing left to cherish our early love for this most venerable of cities, but the accounts of travellers, its name would soon cease to awaken any powerful emotion. But it has a glory of its own; and Jerusalem is still itself. Neither the sword of the conqueror; neither the plough-share, nor the ravages of time, can destroy its wondrous identity, or change its destiny. It is among cities what a servant of God is among men. All the storms and billows of life may pass over him. But while "the outward man decays, the inward man is renewed day by day." The disposing of its lot is of the Lord; and unlike Babylon, or Nineveh, raised to serve a temporary purpose in the plan of providence, Jerusalem belongs to the permanent portion of the Divine system, and can never cease to be, till all that which is visible and symbolic shall be swallowed up in the surpassing glories of an eternal reality.

PLACES OF NOTE ROUND JERUSALEM.

THE country immediately round the walls of Jerusalem presents an aspect of solitude and desolation. Cultivation has done but little to clothe its barren hills; and though here and there some patches of verdure may be discovered, the scene, taken in its general features, is one which impresses the heart with a sort of feeling that here nature has, for some mysterious purpose, been commanded for a while to withhold her blessing. No houses are to be seen crowning the hills, or giving a sweet home character to the little brooks and valleys beneath them, as in other countries. All is lone and sad; and the pilgrim on leaving the streets of Jerusalem, seems to be entering upon an unpeopled world.

Within a short distance, however, of the city, little towns and villages exist, the names of which are still venerable to the reader of sacred history. The intervening solitude may well be regarded as giving the pilgrim time for pious meditation.

On leaving the city by the gate of Jaffa or Bethlehem, the traveller passes a bridge, having to his left the hill of Evil Council. The road, which is rocky, and in several places almost impassable, runs to the left, nearly parallel with the valley of Rephaim. It is rendered interesting to the believer in traditions, by the numerous objects which present themselves on the way. Thus, at a short distance from the city, he is shown the supposed remains of the house of Simeon. A little further on is a Terebinth tree, under which the Virgin Mary rested with the infant Jesus, when about to present him in the Temple. Scarcely less affecting is the belief, that the fountain may still be pointed out by which the Wise Men of the East were reclining, when they again saw the star, and "rejoiced with exceeding great joy." Some way further on is the Chapel of Habakkuk; the Monastery of Elias; and, lastly, Rachel's tomb.

Most of the early travellers believed the monument which surmounts this sacred spot, to be an ancient erection. It is a small square edifice, built of stone, and ornamented with a dome, presenting the appearance of an ordinary Turkish monument. No one now supposes it to be anything more than the tomb of some Mahometan saint. But Dr. Robinson* acknowledges that the general correctness of the tradition which has fixed upon this spot as the burial-place of Rachel, cannot be properly called in question; and Chateaubriand,† in speaking of the locality, says, "We perceived in the mountains, for night had come on, the lights of the village of

* Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 322. † Travels, vol. i. p. 376.

Rama. Profound silence reigned around us. It was doubtless in such a night as this, that Rachel's voice suddenly burst upon the ear: 'A voice was heard in Rama; lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel, weeping for her children, refused to be comforted, because they were not.'* The Rama here alluded to is now a poor and almost deserted village. Its situation upon a lofty eminence, about ten minutes' distance from the main road, renders it an object of interest in this lonely, mountainous district. Some remains of ancient edifices indicate its former importance; and there seems little reason to doubt but that here stood the city which, with Gibeah and Geba in its neighbourhood, was a place of consequence in the time of the Judges;† and was alluded to by Isaiah when he said: 'They are gone over the passage. They have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled.'"‡

Bethlehem is two hours' journey from Jerusalem. The mention of its name carries the mind far back into the depths of sacred history. As Bethlehem-Judah, so called to distinguish it from the Bethlehem in Zabulon, it existed in the remotest times; and though never numbered among the larger, or more important cities of the nation, it was celebrated from the earliest ages for the richness of its pastures and its corn-fields. Hence its well-known epithet of *Ephratah*, or the fertile; and the frequent mention made, in the accounts of travellers, of the beauty of the surrounding country. Bethlehem was the native city of several of the great men of Israel; as of Boaz,§ Obed, Jesse, and the far more distinguished David. But even the wonderful man who united in himself the two different characters of the victorious monarch and the sweet Psalmist of Israel, could not have given it a claim to the sublime designation of the prophet: "Thou, Beth-lehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old; from everlasting."‖

No doubt has has ever been entertained among Christians respecting this birth-place of our Redeemer. An oratory, such as the poverty of primitive times could afford, was early erected on the spot where the rude manger is supposed to have stood in which the infant Saviour was laid. This, it is said, was destroyed by the emperor Adrian, and an idol desecrated the place of prayer, so dear to the devout pilgrim.¶ At the instance of the empress Helena, Constantine built a church here; but according to some authors, the emperor Justinian demolished this, to make room for a more sumptuous edifice, and which, it is believed, survived all the storms of the middle ages.**

* Matt. ii. 17. Jer. xxxi. 15. † Judges xix. 13. ‡ Isaiah x. 29.

§ See the book of Ruth. ‖ Micah v. 2. Matt. ii. 6.

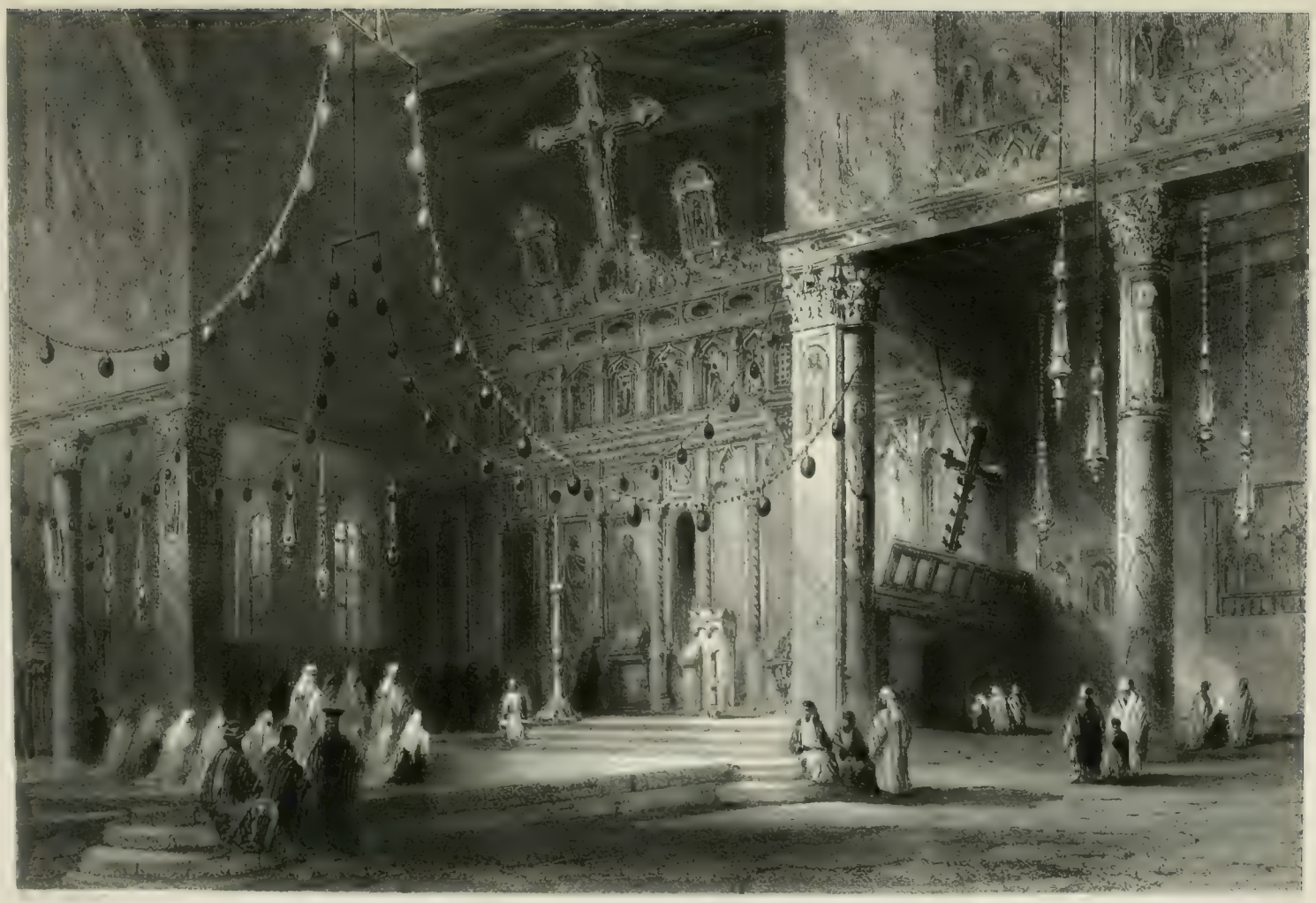
¶ St. Jerome says, referring to the practice of the women who came here to weep before the image of Adonis: "In specu, ubi Christus quondam vagiit, veneris amasius plangebatur."

** Le Pere Naud, Voyage Nouveau, lib iv. p. 400.

This venerable structure stands a little beyond the northern extremity of the present town of Bethlehem. It is situated within the walls of a monastery, belonging to the Armenians, and occupying a rocky eminence of considerable extent. The view from the cloister embraces the Jordan, the shores of the Dead Sea; the hill of Tekoah, and the wilderness of Engeddi. No church in Palestine can rival this of Bethlehem in antiquity;* and few equal it in beauty of decoration. Fifty marble columns serve to adorn the different parts of the edifice. Splendid mosaics formerly covered its walls; and tablets, containing a summary of the canons passed at the seven general councils, were placed in conspicuous parts of the nave. Near the altar of the Three Magi, a marble star points out the direction in which the star in the heavens appeared to them; and a flight of fifteen steps conducts the pilgrim to the cave in the rock in which our Lord was born. This grotto is thirty-nine feet long, eleven broad, and nine high. The walls and the floor are covered with marble. Thirty-two lamps are kept constantly burning; and a slab of white marble bearing a silver glory, and the inscription, *Hic de virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est*, marks the most sacred spot in this venerable cavern. A manger of white marble; an altar; and some paintings, form a part of its decorations; while to add to the deep and tender feelings with which the Christian traveller can hardly fail to be impressed, the solemn tones of an organ, and the plaintive chant, fall upon his ear like the voices of ancient days.

"Nothing," says the eloquent author of the Genius of Christianity, "can be more pleasing, or better calculated to excite sentiments of devotion, than this subterranean church. It is adorned with pictures of the Italian and Spanish schools. These pictures represent the mysteries of the place; the Virgin and Child, after Raphael; the Annunciation; the Adoration of the Wise Men; the Coming of the Shepherds; and all those miracles of mingled grandeur and innocence. The usual ornaments of the manger are of blue satin embroidered with silver. Incense is continually smoking before the cradle of the Saviour. I have heard an organ, touched by no ordinary hand, play, during mass, the sweetest and most tender airs of the best Italian composers. These concerts charm the Christian Arab, who, leaving his camels to feed, repairs, like the shepherds of old, to Bethlehem, to adore the King of kings in his manger. I have seen this inhabitant of the desert communicate at the altar of the Magi, with a fervour, a piety of devotion, unknown among the Christians of the West. 'No place in the world,' says Father Neret, 'excites more profound devotion. The continual arrival of caravans from all the nations of Christendom; the public prayers; the prostrations; nay, even the richness of the presents transmitted by the Christian princes, altogether produce feelings in the soul, which it is much easier to conceive than describe.' It may be added, that the effect of all this is heightened by an extraordinary contrast; for on quitting the

* Karl Von Raumer, Palestine, p. 309.



crypt, where you have met with the riches, the arts, the religion of civilized nations, you find yourself in a profound solitude, amidst wretched Arab huts; among half-naked savages; and faithless Mussulmans. This place is, nevertheless, the scene where so many miracles were displayed; but the land dares no longer express its joy, and locks within its bosom the recollections of its glory."*

At a little distance from the cave of the Nativity, is that in which St. Jerome passed so many years of study and devotion. Among the numerous pictures which the history of early Christianity presents to the mind, few can equal in interest, or beauty, that of this holy man, pondering in his little cell, over the Hebrew Scriptures. With a mind as acute and capacious, as it was devout, Saint Jerome had retreated from the world in the prime of manhood; and despising the corruptions and low ambition which he discovered even among churchmen, had resolved to spend the remainder of his life in solitude. But it was not in selfish repose that he wished to pass his days. He had a vocation as important as that of the most conspicuous characters of the age. The word of God was then but imperfectly known to the great body of Christians. Few could read the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament; fewer still the Hebrew of the Old. A very imperfect Latin version of the Scriptures existed; but it was little respected. Saint Jerome knew the wants of the people. He understood how important it was that both they and the clergy should have the means of a ready appeal to God's word. He felt these convictions to be a call; and from thenceforward he gave himself up to the labour of collation and translating. Securing the aid of the most able men in Palestine, he travelled up and down the country, collecting information, and seizing upon every opportunity which offered for improving himself in the critical study of Hebrew. When he had good reason to believe that his knowledge was sufficient for the purpose, he set himself down in his cave, and with the Hebrew manuscripts before him, began that version of the Scriptures which supplied the Church, for so many ages, with the light of divine revelation. Had the Christian world, indeed, been ready to employ the means of knowledge with which St. Jerome thus supplied it, those long seasons of darkness, which break like yawning chasms, the succession of evangelical ages, would never have occurred. Posterity, and even our own times, jealous as we are in the cause of Scriptural truth, entertain little regard for Saint Jerome in proportion to that which he deserves. The Latin version which he made for his days was as precious as that of Luther for the Germans, or that of Wickliffe, or of Tindal and Coverdale, for England. Who then can think, without a feeling of reverential love, of Jerome in his cave at Bethlehem? of that wise and foreseeing spirit which taught him to devote his life and his genius to such a labour?

But Jerome mingled with the severest labours of the scholar, those of the most devout and active of Christians. His cave at Bethlehem was sought by crowds of

* Travels in Palestine, part iii.

pilgrims, who had either from choice or necessity fled from the agitated provinces of the West. Jerome gave them counsel, and, as far as possible, relieved their wants. When his resources failed, he mingled his tears and his prayers with those of his afflicted brethren, and taught them by his own example, at how little cost a man may live, and how sublimely independent he may be of the world, when he has experimentally learnt the great truth, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."* The delight which he experienced in his solitude, surrounded by so many objects of sacred memory, is fervently expressed in the letters which he addressed to his friends. Impressed with the feeling thus inspired, he exclaimed, "O wilderness, always covered with the flowers of Jesus Christ! O solitude, where the stones that are made use of to build the city of the Great King, are to be found! O, happy retirement, where men may have familiar conversation with God! What are you about, my brother, in the world? How long will you dwell under the shadow of houses? When will you leave the prison of smoking cities? What do you fear in these solitary places? Is it poverty? Jesus Christ calls the poor happy. Does labour alarm you? Can he that takes a part in the public games be crowned before he has fought? Do you fear hard diet? A lively faith dreads not hunger. Do you shrink from the thought of lying on the bare ground? Remember that Jesus Christ rests there with you. Are you terrified at the extent of this wild and awful solitude? Paradise is open to you."

Jerome lived to a great age. When death approached, he said to his friends and scholars who gathered round him: "Do you come to announce that the hour of my departure is at hand? O, happy news! Precious is the moment which will render me for ever free! Death has no terrors but for the wicked. Christ having endured it, the believer may rejoice even in the midst of a thousand tortures. Do you wish, my friends, to find it such as I thus describe it? Exercise repentance; mortify your passions; learn to hate yourselves, and to love only Jesus Christ: you will then one day experience how sweet it is to die, when a man has known how to live well." Such were the sentiments which Jerome had learnt in his cave at Bethlehem. He was buried near the spot where he had spent so many years of his life. His grave is still pointed out. Near it are those of his two friends, Paula, and her daughter Eustochium, ladies, according to what we learn of them from his own writings, of extraordinary virtue, and whose example in the way of active charity, shows, like that of Jerome's own, how little these early saints thought of allowing even a life of ascetic retirement to justify a neglect of Christian duties.

Bethlehem and its inhabitants have had their full share of the afflictions which have fallen upon the country at large. Though the population consists entirely of Christians, it is far from distinguished for its meekness or tranquillity. The Beth-

* Matt. iv. 4.

lehemites were foremost in the struggle of 1834; and they suffered accordingly when the Egyptians triumphed.

It is by the gate of Saint Stephen that the traveller enters on the road to Bethany. After passing the brook Cedron, and reaching the garden of Gethsemane, the path turns to the right, and forms for some way a steep ascent, till it descends into a valley on the left. It was a little beyond this that our Lord beheld the fig-tree, upon which he pronounced his malediction, constituting it as a sign, not only of the reprobate nation which had so long despised the riches of the goodness of God; but of all who should, in whatever age of the world living, remain unfruitful under the dew of his blessing. The village of Bethany is about half-an-hour distant from Jerusalem.* It is inhabited by a few poor Arabs. The objects of interest are the supposed sites of the house of Martha and Mary, and that of Mary Magdalene. The grave of Lazarus is also pointed out. A descent by thirty steps leads into the cavern; and a little altar marks the spot in which he is said to have reposed, when the voice of Him who is the resurrection and the life reached his startled spirit, and brought it back to the fast corrupting body.

Bethany was regarded with great veneration by the early Christians, and a church existed there in the fourth century. At a somewhat later period, an extensive monastery was founded in Bethany; and in the twelfth century, queen Melisinda, the consort of Fulco, king of Jerusalem, established a convent there, and placed at its head her sister Jutta as abbess. The peculiar advantages enjoyed by this institution soon rendered it celebrated as one of the noblest and wealthiest in Palestine. Jutta's rank added no slight grace to her virtues in the popular estimation; and even pious souls could behold with peculiar delight a king's daughter devoting herself to the ministry of holy things. The convent had been founded, according to the spirit of the age, with the feeling that its royal benefactors would secure to themselves, by this act of devotion and munificence, the abundant blessing of Heaven. Such were the gifts and endowments poured upon this favoured institution, that it not only surpassed other similar establishments in riches, but enjoyed a greater degree of opulence than the most flourishing of the Syrian churches.† Possessing certain territorial rights, it received a large income from Jericho, and the surrounding lands. The appearance of the convent corresponded to its wealth. Jewels and precious stones glittered on the sacred vessels of its altars, and on the robes of its ministering priests. A lofty tower, built with singular care, and remarkable for its strength as a fortress, rose above its walls, and betokened the power which could be employed against any enemy who might dare to approach the precincts of the sanctuary. For some few generations, this magnificent convent retained the character for mingled piety, splendour, and romance, imposed upon it by the spirit and circumstances of the age. With the troubles which came upon the kingdom of Je-

* Karl von Raumer, Palästina, p. 305. † Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, b. ii. p. 617.

rusalem it rapidly declined; and in the course of two or three centuries from its foundation it had wholly disappeared.*

The fate of this interesting monastery was that of most of the institutions of the middle ages in the Holy Land. They rose in the strength of that spirit of fervent devotion which gave grandeur and beauty to whatever it created. But with the decline of the faith, to the energies of which they owed their existence, they were deprived of the shield which guarded them. The ordinary elements of change then began to operate with full force upon their walls and bulwarks: the innermost recesses of the sanctuary were laid open to the rude hand of the destroyer; and not a trace remained after a few ages, of that peculiar and solemn majesty which originally belonged to the monuments of the early dominion of the Christians in Palestine.

Some places of less importance than those above described lie within a little distance of their locality. Thus, the ancient Bethphage is spoken of as situated between Bethany and the scene of our Lord's ascension. But not a trace can be discovered of its former celebrity.† The loose stones which lie about are the remains of the most ordinary kind of buildings; but the situation of the original village must have been highly romantic. It derived its name from occupying a spot just at the mouth of the wild, deep valley running at the bottom of the Mount of Olives. Tradition speaks of it as the place to which the priests delighted to retire in ancient times to refresh themselves after their fatiguing services in the Temple. According to another account, it was here that the victims, intended for sacrifice were kept, till the time arrived for conveying them to Jerusalem; and hence the pious ingenuity of some of the old travellers have found a reason for our Lord's proceeding from this village, when about to offer up himself as a sacrifice for the sins of the world. Thus also the custom was introduced by some of the monastic orders, of making a solemn procession, on Palm-Sunday, from Bethphage to the holy city. The pride and jealousy of the Mussulmans obliged the friars to abolish this ceremony. When the ambassador of France, in the early part of the eighteenth century, sought permission of the Turkish government to renew the practice, his request was graciously granted; but the governor of Jerusalem earnestly persuaded him not to expose either his own person, or the lives of the monks, to the fury of the people, by such a proceeding. The advice of the governor, we are told, was prudently taken.

Solomon's Pools, already described, lie to the south of Bethlehem. To the south-east may be seen the ruins of a castle, built probably in the times of the Crusades, and occupying a rocky eminence; near which stood the ancient Thekoa,

* The German traveller Schubert, says, that he nowhere about Jerusalem saw so many pilgrims from various countries of the East assembled together, with an appearance of amity, as in the poor little village of Bethany. Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 570.

† Karl von Raumer, Palästina, p. 305. Pere de Naud, Voyage Nouveau, lib. iii. p. 277.

built by Rehoboam, and the native place of the prophet Amos. There too he was buried, and the remains of a church still point out the place of his sepulture.*

By pursuing the road for a short way to the north-west of Bethlehem, we reach the valley rendered so remarkable by the destruction of the host of Sennacherib: "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred four score and five thousand."†

Here is situated the village of Buteschella,‡ which is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Bezech, a royal city of the tribe of Judah. It is considered one of the most beautiful spots in the whole district, and, by a strange superstition on the part of the Turks, the Christian inhabitants of the place are left to enjoy its beauties undisturbed. According to the common belief of the Mussulmans, no one belonging to their faith can live in Buteschella more than two years. At the end of that period, some fatal spell which has been pronounced there against the followers of the prophet will take effect; and the terror thus inspired is found to be a most powerful defence for the Greeks and others who have made this village their home.

About a league and a half distant from Buteschella, at the foot of the mountain of Bethsur, tradition points out the fountain in which, it is said, Philip baptized the eunuch. A church formerly stood here, but it is now in ruins; and it seems to be a matter of doubt whether the tradition referred to is worthy of belief.§ The valley itself is called the Vale of Eshcol, and at the further end, on a gentle ascent, the vineyard is shown which early travellers fondly believed was the same as that from which, in the days of Moses, the spies gathered the grapes which they carried to the tents of their countrymen. Close by is the little village of St. Philip, or Elwalige; and about a mile distant, stands the convent of St. John the Baptist, in the midst of the desert known by his name. Pococke visited this spot, and gives a particular account of the objects which have contributed to render the neighbourhood interesting to Christians from the earliest period of their faith. "The convent is situated," he says, "on a low hill, among the mountains, and is governed by a guardian. It is occupied by about fourteen monks; and the church is said to be built on the spot where Zachariah's house stood, in which Saint John the Baptist was born. The altar is finely adorned with reliefs. We went to visit the remarkable places in

* Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b. iii. p. 26. † 2 Kings xix. 35.

‡ Eugene Roger, La Terre Saincte, liv. i. p. 131. Karl von Raumer, Palästina, p. 312.

§ Karl von Raumer, Palästina, 179, 180. (note.) Dr. Robinson says, "This certainly cannot have been the water at which the eunuch was baptized; for he was driving in his chariot towards Gaza, and never could have passed on this route."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 320. Sandys says, "It seemeth strange unto me, that a chariot should be able to pass those rocky and declining mountains, where almost a horse can hardly keep footing."—P. 182. Pococke observes, "that the way does not seem passable for wheel-carriages;" but adds, "that there is a very good road on the other side of the valley."—P. 45. Karl von Raumer strongly opposes Dr. Robinson's notions; and says, "that to seek the place of the eunuch's baptism at Tell El-Hasi, is to contradict the Scripture narrative, and a tradition which has prevailed from the earliest days of Christianity."—Beiträge zur Biblischen Geographie, p. 49.

the desert, which chiefly consists of high hills, enclosing deep and narrow valleys. Our course was southward along the valley for half-a quarter of a mile, to the fountain of the blessed Virgin; of which, it is said, she drank during the three months she stayed here. We then went up the side of a hill, at the end of the valley; and having ascended a little way, came to the church which is said to be on the spot where the country-house of Zachariah stood; the other before-mentioned being his house in the town. Here, they say, the blessed Virgin lived three months; and the stairs are shown, on which they have a tradition, that Elizabeth met her. They lead to a grot, which, they say, was their habitation at that time. We then turned to the west; and went along the side of a hill, having a valley to the right; and saw a stone on which, it is said, Saint John preached. Going about a mile further, we came to the grot of St. John, to which, they say, Elizabeth fled with him, on the cruel desire of Herod to destroy the young children. Tradition says, that Elizabeth died when he was three years old; and that he continued to inhabit this grot, till he was thirty years of age; when he went into the desert, near Jordan, to preach and baptize. We went higher up the hill, a little further to the west, and came to a large grotto, which they call the sepulchre of Elizabeth. On the hill, opposite to the grotto of St. John, is a village which, if I mistake not, they call the village of St. John, or of the desert; and to the north-west, is a village on a lofty hill, called Zerba, which, some say, was Modin, where the Maccabees were born and interred; but this seems to be an error, as that place was in the tribe of Dan. In this desert there are many caroub-trees, which bear a fruit like a bean; but it is flatter, and has small seeds in it. They eat the shell of it, when it is dry, which is very agreeable. It is supposed that this is the locust on which Saint John fed, and not the *cassia fistula*, which has been shown for it, and does not grow in the country. Some, however, are of opinion, that the locusts which he fed on, were those insects preserved with salt. The Arabs, it is said, eat them, in some parts at this time; and the opinion is confirmed by the Arabic translation of the passage in the gospel, though there might be a tree of that name."*

Few passages could be selected from the writings of the venerable Sandys, "Poet and Traveller," more characteristic of his genius, than his account of John the Baptist's grotto. "This cave," he says, "is seated on the northern side of a desert mountain, (only beholding to the locust-tree,) hewn out of the precipitating rock, so as difficult to be ascended, or descended to; entered at the east corner, and receiving light from a window in the side. At the upper end there is a bench of the self-same rock, whereon, as they say, he accustomed to sleep: of which whoso breaks a piece off, stands forthwith excommunicate. Over this, on a little flat, stand the ruins of a monastery, on the south side, naturally walled with the steep of the

* Description of the East, Observations on Palestine, vol. i. p. 46. Eugene Roger, La Terre Saincte, liv. i. p. 183.

† A Relation of a Journey, 1615, lib. iii. p. 183.

mountain; from whence there gusheth a living spring; which entereth the rock, and again bursteth forth beneath the mouth of the cave, a place that would make solitariness delightful, and stand in comparison with the turbulent pomp of cities. This overlooketh a profound valley, on the far side hemmed with aspiring mountains." *

Among the rocky fastnesses of this district, but somewhat nearer the supposed site of the ancient Tekoa, is a place called "the Labyrinth," or in Arabic *Elmaama*. The mountains here rise almost perpendicularly above the valley; and the cavern, which has given a name to the spot, is supported by huge natural pillars, the roof in several places presenting the appearance of domes. A common tradition prevails, that thirty thousand people once found shelter in this vast grotto from the pestilential blasts of some hot, tempestuous wind, which seemed to sweep the land like a messenger of destruction.† The peculiar character of this district, and the grotto thus described, has given rise to the belief that it was one of the strongholds of Engaddi, in which David sought shelter from the pursuit of Saul; and that here might be the very cave in which David cut off the skirt of his furious persecutor.‡ It is objected,§ however, to this opinion, that the real Adullam is enumerated among the cities of the plain of Judah; and that both Eusebius and Jerome place it in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis, to the west of the mountains.

* A Relation of a Journey, 1615, lib. iii. p. 183.

† Pococke, Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 41.

‡ Eugene Roger: La Terre Saincte, liv. i. p. 177. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 42.

§ Robinson, vol. ii. p. 175. Schubert supports the common opinion, and refers both to the general appearance of the fastness, and to the remains of a little Christian church formerly standing here. Reise in das Morgenland, b. iii. p. 32.

JERICHO AND THE DEAD SEA.

After passing by Bethany, and the fountain, at which it is said Christ and his apostles drank, in their journey between Jerusalem and Jericho, the road leads past a mosque, which the Arabs are said to believe marks the mysterious spot near which the great lawgiver of the Jews was buried. "Having ascended a hill to the north, and proceeded about two miles, we came," says Pococke, "to a small round valley, called the field of Adonim or Adomin, that is to say, the 'field of blood,' because, according to common report, frequent murders and robberies were committed there; and those who look at the parable in St. Luke as referring to an actual occurrence, suppose that the person who was going from Jerusalem to Jericho, was robbed here, though the narrative may allude to any part of a road remarkable for robberies. We found this vale and the hills about it covered with grass. Ascending a hill, we came to a ruined khan; and a little further up, to another, where, it is said, pilgrims formerly lodged the first night from Jerusalem, this being considered about half way to the river Jordan. We then passed by another vale; and passing over a rocky mountain, had a view of the plain of Jericho, which is part of the great plain on both sides of Jordan, extending from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea." The whole of the road here is peculiarly wild. Rocky precipices and watercourses oblige the pilgrim to pursue his path with caution.* But natural objects of surpassing grandeur everywhere meet his eye; and as he looks towards the west he beholds that long range of gloomy mountains known by the name of the *Quaratana*, because it was among them, according to early belief, our Lord passed his forty days of fasting, and the terrible season of temptation. "This," says Pococke, "seems to be the chain of hills mentioned by Josephus,† as extending from Scythopolis towards Tiberias, to the further end of the Dead Sea, and possibly as far as Idumæa."‡

Some ruined buildings and grottos are met with in this part of the road. A little chapel which stands in the neighbourhood of the latter, is accounted so sacred that even the Christian pilgrim is not ordinarily allowed to enter it. It is supposed to mark the spot on the mountain where our Lord stood when the devil showed Him

* "Jordan runneth well nigh thirty miles from Jerusalem. The way thither by Bethany made long and troublesome by the steep descents and labyrinthian windings, being to the judgment of the eye not the fourth of the distance."—Sandys, p. 197.

† De Bello Jud. iv. 8. ‡ Observations, vol. i. p. 31.

all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. Not far from this is the fountain of Elisha, now a comparatively shallow spring, but the water of which is said to be soft and tepid.

Jericho is situated little more than a mile from this fountain, the waters of which were healed and made fruitful by the prophet, in answer to the prayer of the inhabitants of the neighbouring city. A square tower is seen, which tradition pretends stands on the site of the house of Zacchæus; and by a still larger demand upon credulity, the tree is shown on which he is said to have climbed to see Christ. The village, which is generally supposed to occupy the place of the ancient Jericho, consists of a few unimportant buildings, and has, in itself, no pretensions to the veneration of the pilgrim. In former times, the country round this city was celebrated for its fertility and floral beauty. "It was a city of fame," says Sandys, speaking of Jericho, "beautiful in her palms, but chiefly proud of her *balsamum*, a plant then thought particular unto Jurie, which grew most plentifully in this valley, and on the sides of the western mountains which confine it; growing upright, and yearly pruned of her superfluous branches. In the summer they lance the rind with a stone, (not to be touched with steele,) but not deeper than the inward film, for otherwise it forthwith perished; from whence those fragrant and precious tears did distil which now are only brought us from India."* The same old author remarks, that there remained two orchards planted with this precious shrub, in the days of Vespasian, and that a battle was fought to protect them against the efforts of the Jews to deprive the enemy of the fragrant spoil. Such was the value set upon the balsam of Jericho, that both Pompey and Titus presented it in their triumphs as an especial emblem of the value of their victories.†

Among later travellers, Dr. Robinson has given the most careful and interesting account of Jericho and its environs.‡ According to the narrative of this always instructive writer, the present village of Eriha, "a degenerate shoot, both in name and character, of the ancient Jericho," is situated in the midst of a vast plain, and is strikingly like some of the villages in Egypt. The surrounding country is naturally fertile; and might, by careful cultivation and irrigation, be made abundantly productive. But Dr. Robinson states that it is now almost desert; while the village itself is the most miserable and filthy that he met with in Palestine. "The houses, or hovels, are merely four walls of stones taken from ancient ruins, and loosely thrown together, with flat roofs of corn-stalks or brushwood, spread over with gravel." These miserable buildings, it is added, stand in irregular positions, at large intervals from each other, each being sur-

* Travels, lib. iii. p. 198.

† "This country," says Josephus, "also produces honey from bees. It also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place. Cypress-trees, also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine would not be mistaken, so many trees being produced here which are rare and of the most excellent sort."—De Bello Jud. lib. iv. c. 8.

‡ Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 279.

rounded by a yard, enclosed with a hedge of the dry, thorny boughs of the nŭbk. The whole village is hedged round in a similar manner, the branches of the plant thus employed forming an impenetrable barrier to the attacks of any ordinary assailant. Only one solitary palm-tree, it is said, now rears its head near the spot where once stood the "city of palm-trees;"* and wanting must the mind be in thought, which can reflect even on this single circumstance without feeling how solemn a thing it is for a city, a people, or nation to disregard the decrees of the Most High!

The atmosphere of Jericho is hot and heavy. In the journey between Jerusalem and this place, a distance computed at about five or six hours, the traveller passes, it is said, "from a pure and temperate air, into the sultry heat of an Egyptian climate." This is readily accounted for by the fact, that Jericho and the valley of the Jordan, are situated several hundred feet below the level of the sea; and even three thousand feet lower than Jerusalem. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, while sitting under a retired and spreading fig-tree, near running water, and with a refreshing breeze blowing around the spot, Dr. Robinson found the thermometer, in the shade, standing at 86°. The heat in the tent, he adds, notwithstanding the breeze, and the partial obscuring of the sun, became insupportable. At two o'clock in the afternoon the thermometer rose to 102°; while another under the shade of a fig-tree stood at 91°.† So unhealthy is Jericho considered, that few strangers can resist its influence for more than a few weeks; and, according to the Arabs, to lodge a single night in the village is often found a dangerous experiment. Notwithstanding, therefore, the beauty of the surrounding scenes, and the fine corn-fields in the neighbourhood, an air of melancholy pervades the place, and the stranger cannot help reflecting on that solemn denunciation: "And Joshua adjured them at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up, and buildeth this city Jericho: He shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it."‡ The warning thus solemnly pronounced was sufficient to deter ambition or avarice from daring to re-occupy the accursed site; but in the days of King Ahab "did Hiel the Beth-elite build Jericho. He laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born; and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun."§ Hiel's sin seems to have consisted in his daring attempt to falsify the divine word, or resist the decrees of providence. A city in this immediate neighbourhood, spoken of as "the City of Palm-trees," existed in the time of the Judges·¶ and it is mentioned by name in the reign of David. Whether this

* Deut. xxxiv. 3. Judges i. 16.

† This remarkable fact is mentioned by Dr. Robinson; but he remarks that the real Adullam is enumerated among the cities of the plain of Judah; and Eusebius and Jerome place it in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis, west of the mountains. Vol. ii. p. 175.

‡ Joshua vi. 26. § 1 Kings xvi. 34. ¶ Judges iii. 13.

city occupied the same site as that of a later period, may be matter of doubt; but there seems no question as to the abandonment of the locality on which the ancient Jericho was built. It was probably considered a sufficient proof of reverence for the denunciation pronounced by Joshua, that the accursed spot was avoided; but if that which travellers state respecting the present state and character of the inhabitants of Jericho be true, the divine blessing has not been bestowed on those who have ventured so near that which ought to have been consigned to desolation. In no part of Palestine does greater licentiousness of manners prevail than among the people of Rîha; and sloth and poverty are their characteristic attendants.

Schubert observes that in the immediate neighbourhood of the little fortress, or tower, fragments of pillars and broken architraves may still be seen; but he confesses that the pilgrim in vain endeavours to determine to what buildings they may have belonged. Somewhere in this locality stood the Amphitheatre and Hippodrome in which Herod displayed the magnificence of his taste, and which he would fain have made the scene of an act scarcely paralleled even in the stories of ancient tyranny. While raving under the tortures of his dying agony, he had still sufficient command of reason to plot the massacre of the most eminent men of his nation. By his direction they were to be invited to a feast in the Amphitheatre; and as soon as his death took place, the swords of his guards were to be drawn upon them, and sacrifice them to his insatiable hatred of mankind.* To the north of the village are some ruins, supposed to be those of Phasaëlis, a tower built by Herod, and so named after his brother, Phasaëlus; or of the fortresses, Thrax and Taurus, also erected by Herod for the defence of the district.

From the summit of a jutting precipice, overhanging the neighbouring valley, a noble view is obtained of the plains of Jericho, watered by the fountain of Elisha, and extending to the green banks of the Jordan. Was not Gilgal situated near this spot? it has been asked. Though now not a trace can be discovered of that ancient city, the pious traveller attaches a deep interest to its name. It was a type, says Schubert, of Jerusalem itself; the first resting-place of the ark of the covenant. There, the hosts of Israel celebrated their first passover in the land of promise, and renewed the covenant of their fathers with Jehovah. Like Bethel, Gilgal was a place where the powers of the spiritual world drew near to the inhabitants of this lower sphere. There it was, that the prince of the hosts of the Lord appeared to Joshua; that the schools of the prophets, of Elijah and Elisha, were established; that Samuel judged the people. But so entirely has every relic of Gilgal disappeared, that, important as it once was, it is now even questioned,

* He called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexis, and thus addressed them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival at my death. But I can secure mourners, and a splendid funeral, if you will obey my commands. Send for soldiers; encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them as soon as I expire. Then will all Judæa, and especially their families, weep, whether they will or no."—De Bello, lib. i. c. xxxiii.

whether there ever existed any city so called; and whether the name was not that of a district, rather than of a town or village.* Whatever it might have been before the Babylonish captivity, it is certain that after that period, Gilgal was no longer known among the great cities of the land.† Its position is very distinctly stated by the sacred writer: "The people came up out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, in the east border of Jericho."‡ Neither tradition, however, nor the present inhabitants of the valley of the Jordan, can afford any information as to the fate of Gilgal.

The road from Jericho to the banks of the Jordan, is described as presenting many lovely scenes of fertility. Corn-fields, and flowery thickets, still afford proofs of what the land was, when it first displayed its glory to the people whose it was by divine inheritance and covenant. The song of birds, the cheerful note of the lark, the pathetic warbling of the nightingale, the murmurs of the winds and waters, mingling together in exquisite harmony, serve to give an inexpressible charm to the thoughts of the pilgrim as he pursues his solitary way. At the distance of about an hour and a half from Jericho,§ the banks of the Jordan are seen covered with thick bushes and trees, the water here and there sparkling between them, and awakening a multitude of solemn associations in the mind of the traveller. He beholds, in imagination, the hosts of the Lord passing over the bed of the stream to take triumphant possession of their land. As this magnificent pageant passes away, his eye seems to rest upon the form of Elijah, at that solemn moment when, conversing with his servant Elisha, "he took his mantle, and wrapped it together, and smote the waters;" and when as they still went on, "there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder: and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven;"‖ and then upon the enraptured Elisha, gazing after the wondrous and glorious vision, and exclaiming, "My father, my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof."¶ Nor will even this magnificent pageant in the progress of heavenly dispensations, satisfy the memory. It feels that something still sublimer is to come; and there, accordingly, the eye of faith rests on the form of the Redeemer, submitting to the baptism of John, while the visible power of truth and divine love, and the voice of the Eternal Father, proclaim his glory.

* Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 287. Josephus says that the word *Gilgal* denotes liberty; and that the place was so called, because the people having passed over Jordan, regarded themselves as freed from the miseries which they endured in Egypt, and in the wilderness. Whiston observes, "I agree here with Dr. Bernard, and approve of Josephus's interpretation of Gilgal for *Liberty*."—Josephus's Antiq. b. v. c. i. s. 11.

† The Gilgal mentioned in Nehemiah xii. 29; and in 1 Macc. ix. 2, is supposed to have been that near Antipatris, in the western plain.—Ib. 287.

‡ Joshua iv. 19.

Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland. Dr. Robinson states the distance to be about two hours. Researches, vol. ii. p. 287

‖ 2 Kings ii. 8—11. ¶ 2 Kings ii. 12.

Pilgrims in all ages, and from all nations, have flocked devoutly to the banks of the Jordan, and have experienced a holy delight in contemplating the scenes amid which the Saviour was first manifested to his people. The road from this part of the river to the Dead Sea is wild and rugged. Lovely as is the spot known as the bathing-place of the pilgrims, the path immediately beyond it is utterly void of interest. The river itself, which, at the point described, is about thirty paces broad, and adorned with sylvan beauty, soon narrows to ten paces, and becomes a shallow, muddy stream, running between banks of barren sand, and presenting not a single feature of its earlier grandeur. Mr. Stephens says, that he followed its course as nearly as the cracks and gullies of the road would allow; that for the last two or three miles it runs between perpendicular banks of sand, from five to ten feet high; and that then its waters become corrupted by the pestiferous influence of the bituminous lake, in which it soon after is lost.*

Nothing in nature is associated with more painful imaginations than the Dead Sea. Its name conjures up a troop of spectral forms rising from the gloomiest of the graves of buried ages, and telling of the darkest of their deeds. The power of such scenes to affect the mind, is singularly felt on the shores of this melancholy lake. Not a thought, it is probable, of anything that is bright or good, ever mingled itself with the feelings excited by the contemplation of its silent and mysterious depths. Strange stories have been told of what its waves conceal; and of the glimpses which the stranger wandering on its shore has sometimes caught of the doomed cities beneath. However little the credit due to these vague and uncertain traditions, they serve to increase the awe which the general character of the scene inspires. The bold course of modern enterprise will probably mark out, before any distant time, a path around this sea. But, hitherto, it has continued so engulphed in gloom and mystery, that its further shores are as little known as the innermost deserts of Africa. Nor is it only since the dark ages, or since the time when no interest was felt in exact geographical inquiry, that the Dead Sea, has so awakened curiosity without the prospect of its being satisfied. Ancient authors speak of it in language which shows that it had been the subject of investigation among the learned men of their age. Strabo alludes particularly to the traditions which prevailed respecting it in his time;† and Diodorus Siculus describes it with all the terrible characteristics assigned it by the most awe-stricken of later writers. "The shores of the lake are so burning hot," he says, "by reason of the beds of sulphur in which they abound; and the stench which arises from the brimstone, and the bituminous masses sent up from the lake, is of such a dreadful nature, that the inha-

* Incidents of Travel, chap. xxxii.

† "Ut iis fides haberi posse videatur, quæ ab indigenis prædicantur in hoc loco tredecim urbes olim habitatas fuisse, quarum caput Sodoma adhuc sexaginta stadiorum habeat superstitum ambitum: terræ autem tremoribus et ignis aquarumque calidarum et bituminosarum ac sulphurearum eruptione extitisse lacum, saxa ignem concepisse, urbium alias absorptas, alias ab iis, quicunque fugere potuerunt derelictas."—Georg. lib. xvi. p. 1087. Ed. Ox. 1807.

bitants of the neighbourhood are very unhealthy and short-lived."* Josephus, after speaking of the properties of the lake, and of the vast quantity of bitumen which it produces, adds, that the country round about it, now arid and waste, was once a happy land, glorious both for its fertility, and its wealthy cities. The marks of the divine fire, by which it was scourged for the sins of its inhabitants, might still be traced; the shadows of the ancient cities had not altogether vanished; and the apples of Sodom afforded an emblem which the rudest mind could not fail to understand.†

Le Pere de Naud‡ twice visited the shores of the Dead Sea, and in the course of his pilgrimage became acquainted with the pious abbot of the Monastery of St. Saba. This venerable old man had spent a large portion of his life on the shores of the Dead Sea, and from him Le Pere de Naud learnt some interesting particulars respecting the country around it. The abbot told him, that he had been enabled some few years before, to make the circuit of the lake, under the guidance of the friendly Arabs who occasionally visited his monastery. As he was pursuing his journey along the western side of the sea, he saw a number of those trees, spoken of by the ancients, as the trees of Sodom. They were about the height, and had the general appearance of fig-trees. The fruit which they bore were of the colour and form of limes, and its beauty tempted both the eye and hand. No sooner, however, did the traveller grasp the prize, than its deceptious character was discovered. In some cases, the apparently delicious fruit was dry and empty as a sponge; in others, the arid skin broke, and a mass of black dust poured out.§ The good abbot on being shown one of the common maps of Palestine, informed Le Pere de Naud, that the Dead Sea was not correctly described in the chart; that the southern extremity of the lake was not terminated in a point, but that it consisted of a small body of water, forming a sort of oval, and connected with the rest of the lake by a very narrow channel. He added, that the water was here so shallow as scarcely to reach above the knee of a person fording it; and that the plains immediately beyond, were bounded by mountains of salt.

Some interesting accounts were given by the abbot respecting the inhabitants of the district on the other side of the lake. The country at some little distance to the East, was rich and fertile; containing several villages, and affording numerous proofs of its having been formerly under Christian domination. Churches were still existing; and the people for the most part, professed themselves believers in the gospel. So little care, however, had been taken of these members of the church,

* Lib. xix. c. vi. † De Bell. lib. iv. c. viii. ‡ Voyage Nouveau, liv. iv. p. 379.

§ Eugene Roger also mentions the same trees, as growing on the western side of the lake.—La Terre Saincte, liv. i. c. xvii. p. 187. Pococke says that he saw nothing of this kind, and hazards the conjecture that these apples of Sodom may be pomegranates, which having a tough, hard rind, and being left on the trees two or three years, the inside may be dried to dust, while the outside still retains its beautiful and blooming look.—Observations on Palestine, vol. ii. part i. p. 37.

that they were entirely dependent for what instruction they received, and even for the rite of baptism, on the evangelical charity of the monks of Santa Saba. If the districts about the Dead Sea, should ever become better known, no kind of information would be more acceptable to the religious reader, than that which might encourage the hope, that some traces of Christian faith are yet to be discovered in those regions. Could the expiring flame be revived; could the light of divine truth be kindled along the shores of the Dead Sea, few are the minds which would not feel the singular power of the gospel, in this its antagonism to the gloom of nature, and the darkest terrors of sin.

Different accounts are given as to the extent of the lake. By some authors it is described as only thirty miles in length; by others as forty: but the common and more correct estimate of its extent gives its measurement as from forty-five to fifty miles in length, and about ten in breadth. A much more important difference prevails in the accounts of the atmosphere, and general character, of the district. Most of the old writers speak of its waters as emitting pestilential vapours, and of the soil as exhibiting signs of sulphureous fires, burning like an unquenchable furnace beneath its surface. While no living thing has ever been seen in the waters of this lake, so it has been often asserted that the birds, which attempt to wing their flight to its opposite shores, are suffocated by the noisome air which they meet in their passage.

But these traditionary statements receive little support from travellers who have visited the locality with the intention of describing only what they saw. Dr. Robinson, in speaking of a thicket near the south-east corner of the sea, states that birds in great numbers were to be heard there, and that he saw them frequently flying over the lake. In another place, he says, that he was not less surprised than delighted to hear in the midst of these desolate solitudes, the morning song of innumerable birds. The trees, the rocks, the air, resounded with "the carols of the lark, the cheerful whistle of the quail, the call of the partridge, and the warblings of many other feathered choristers; while birds of prey were soaring and screaming in front of the cliffs above."* Mr. Stephens also bears testimony to the same fact. "Almost at the moment," he says, "of my turning from the Jordan to the Dead Sea, notwithstanding the long-credited accounts that no bird could fly over without dropping dead upon its surface, I saw a flock of gulls floating quietly on its bosom; and when I roused them with a stone, they flew down the lake, skimming its surface, till they had carried themselves out of sight."†

A similar contradiction is given to the common belief, that the country around is rendered uninhabitable by the pestilential vapours exhaled from the sea. "We were for five days," says the former of the writers quoted above, "in the vicinity of its shores, and nowhere perceived either noisome smell, or noxious vapour arising

* Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 219, 239. † Incidents of Travel, chap. xxxii.

from its bosom." The information derived from the Arabs living in the neighbour hood, or frequently traversing its shores, tended in the same way to contradict the received tradition. But the acknowledged unhealthiness of the district; the gloom which frequently, though not always, prevails in the atmosphere; and the awful wildness and sterility of the hills which hang louring around, justify the imagination in using the saddest tints, when drawing a picture of this mysterious region.

One of the most affecting stories connected with the enterprising devotion of travellers, is that which describes the fate of the unfortunate Costigan. The memory of a man is deserving of profound respect, when he has been found possessed of that peculiar energy which leads him to peril even life to accomplish an object believed to be good and great. Had this enthusiastic Irish wanderer in the Holy Land, employed his earnest spirit in some more practical undertaking, his name might have been ranked among those most honourable in the annals of humanity. But even as it was, he ought not to be forgotten. The shores of the Dead Sea were invested in his thoughts with a peculiar interest. He felt that while they were unknown, something was wanting to the illustration of a great historical mystery; and that to penetrate the gloom in which time, tradition, and religion had involved the region, was well worth the risk which might attend the experiment.

Costigan had been long in the East when he resolved upon the execution of the project which so intensely occupied his mind. With a patience and courage characteristic of such natures, he had conveyed a small boat, which he purchased at Beyroot, from that city to the shores of the Dead Sea. His only companion was an old Maltese sailor. Assisted by him, he launched his little vessel on the waters of the silent sea. Unhappily he did not live to record the results of his voyage. The Maltese sailor told the story of their adventure with simplicity; and though he was too little acquainted with the more interesting points of inquiry to afford any important information, he told enough to inspire us with profound sympathy for his master. Their voyage round the lake occupied eight days. They landed every night, and slept on shore, except on one occasion, when the suspicious appearance of some Arabs on the mountains induced them to moor their vessel beyond reach of gun-shot. The substance of the information given by the Maltese was, that they crossed and re-crossed the lake several times, and that the result of their frequent sounding with a line of one hundred and seventy-five brachia (about six feet each) was, that the depth of the sea often varied, within a few boats' lengths, from twenty, to thirty, forty, and even eighty brachia. It was only once that they could find no bottom with their line, and this appears to have been accounted for by the existence of a spring. But the most interesting part of the statement was that which referred to certain ruins, said to have been discovered in the course of the voyage. According to the sailor, they met with ancient remains in four different places; and at one spot Mr. Costigan believed they had found the ruins of Gomorrah. An island sup-

posed to exist at the further end of the lake, was discovered to be a mere optical delusion, created by a tongue of high land, casting its shadows so as to produce the singular effect which has deceived so many travellers.

Among other particulars, the Maltese related to Mr. Stephens, that the boat, with no one in it, floated a palm higher above the water than on the Mediterranean; that Costigan lay on the waves and picked a fowl; that their voyage being made in the month of July, it was dreadfully sultry from nine to five, and that when the north wind, which blew every night, arose, the lake was more tempestuous than the Gulf of Lyons. During the first five days of the voyage, Costigan had cheerfully shared the toil of rowing. On the sixth, he began to show the deadly effects of the heat. Their fresh-water was now exhausted. On the seventh they were obliged to drink that of the lake. The next day they were near the head of the sea; but the Maltese himself was no longer able to hold an oar. He strove, however, to make some coffee; and a sudden breeze springing up, they hoisted a sail, for the first time, and, in a few hours, their little skiff reached the extremity of the lake. But it was too late. Costigan was in a dying state. The Maltese laid him on the shore, and then hastened off to procure assistance from Jericho. Some Arabs found the expiring traveller. They would have left him to his fate; but an old woman who had hastened from Jericho on the first intelligence she received of the sick man, made two of her sons convey him to her hut. There she tended his last hours with the watchfulness of a mother; and poor Costigan blessed her with his dying breath.

A pilgrimage to the Dead Sea is usualy connected with a visit to the convent of Santa Saba. It lies half-way between the Dead Sea and Jerusalem, and occupies the ravine of the brook Cedron, which is said to be, in this place, three or four hundred feet deep.

The monastery of Santa Saba has been celebrated for many centuries as one of the most remarkable in the East. It is surrounded by solitudes, the savage features of which long attracted the melancholy anchorites of the middle ages. The rocks, which here rise to a great height, are rent in several places, and form natural cells or grottos. In these wild retreats, crowds of pilgrims from various parts of the world, took up their abode, till, enamoured of the visions which the strange quietness and security of the region afforded, they regarded it as the happiest of homes. There were formerly, it is said, as many as ten thousand of these anchorites inhabiting the clefts of the rocks at Santa Saba.* The monastery itself stands on the brow of a steep hill, and at the distance of two or three hundred paces is a deep cavern, in the midst of which rises the fountain of Santa Saba, famous for its copious and salubrious stream, and for the miraculous manner in which it is said to have first poured forth its waters at the prayer of the saint.

* Naud, Voyage Nouveau, lib. iv. c. xvii. p. 446.

Though the monastery of Santa Saba is no longer the centre of such a vast community of ascetics, it is still an interesting and remarkable establishment. Travellers unite in describing the wild and solemn scenery by which it is surrounded as inspiring them with awe. "It was night," says one of them, "when we arrived; and groping our way by the uncertain light of the moon, we arrived at the door of the convent, a lofty and gigantic structure, rising in stories of terraces, one above the other, against the sides of the mountain to its very top; and then crowned with turrets, which, from the base where I stood, seemed like the tower at which the wickedness of man was confounded, striving to reach to heaven." Ascending two or three flights of steps, the stranger climbed up a ladder, crawled through a little door which just admitted of his passage, and immediately found himself in the midst of more than a hundred Greek pilgrims. A monk then conducted him again up two or three flights of steps to another apartment. This belonged to the superior, and there coffee was prepared for the weary traveller; after partaking of which, he was shown by flights of steps leading further up the rocks to a little chamber, the neatness and comfort of which were in striking contrast with the wild, dreary, and oppressive gloom which reigned without. And such, it may be worth while to observe, is the power of man to make a home, and to furnish it with many of the truest comforts and delights connected with the name, in the darkest corners of the waste-howling wilderness. The most terrific forms of nature; the saddest associations of the past, readily yield their stern power over the heart, as soon as but an image of home, or of the safety and quietness which belong to it, rises to the mind.

From the summit of a tower which stands on the side of the beetling cliff, the noble convent presents the appearance of an amphitheatre, its terraces crowning several ridges of rock, while in the opposite mountain may still be seen the caverns which formed the abodes of the ancient anchorites. Blue pigeons, it is remarked by Chateaubriand, now build their nests in these deserted grottos, as if to remind the traveller by their sighs, their innocence, and gentleness, of the saints who formerly inhabited these retreats. An old palm-tree also, growing out of the side of a jutting rock, affords a beautiful emblem of the peaceful triumphs which are sometimes gained where the dew of blessing can be hardly looked for. Most readers will sympathize in the sentiment expressed by the eloquent French traveller, when he found that worldly passions and interests could penetrate even into the cells of Santa Saba. "I cannot," he says, "recollect without a feeling of pain, that one of the monks began to talk of political affairs, and to reveal to me the secrets of the court of Russia. 'Ah! father,' said I, 'where will you seek peace, if you cannot find it here?'"

Mr. Bartlett says with truth, that the scenery about Santa Saba, and the convent itself, may be better described by the pencil than the pen. By referring to the view of the monastery, it will be seen that it is defended by a lofty wall. Of this only

one portion is represented, but it completely surrounds and encloses the building, except where the nature of the precipices renders such a defence unnecessary. The dome of the church; the terraces and cells are seen beyond; and the principal buildings front the bold rocks of the opposite side of the glen. In the distance, the eye discerns the sandy heaps of the desert, beyond which lies the Dead Sea, beneath its canopy of gloom and mystery.

HEBRON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

THE antiquity of Hebron connects its name and history with the most remote ages. It is first mentioned in the account of Abraham's survey of the magnificent inheritance which his faith gained for his posterity. "Arise," said the Lord, "walk through the land, in the length of it, and in the breadth of it: for I will give it unto thee. Then Abram removed his tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron."* From the expression here employed, we find that Hebron was originally the name of a district; but in the book of Numbers† it is expressly stated, that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." It was also known, in ancient times, as Kirjath-Arba, for, "Sarah died in Kirjath-Arba, the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her."‡ Abraham himself, and Isaac, were buried with Sarah, "in the cave of the field of Machpelah, before Mamre: the same is Hebron, in the land of Canaan."§ The neighbourhood had been rendered venerable to the patriarch by the wonderful manifestations which he received there of the divine presence: "The Lord appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre: and he sat in the tent-door in the heat of the day."‖

When Joshua was pursuing his triumphant course through the promised land, the king of Hebron was one of the five princes who united to oppose his progress. Hoham's fate, and that of his territory, was soon determined; and in the distribution of the land, Hebron was assigned to Caleb at his particular desire, and because that he had, "wholly followed the Lord God of Israel." By a subsequent arrangement, the city of Hebron was given to the priests, the fields and the villages still remaining the exclusive possession of Caleb. Hebron was also made one of the cities of refuge, and in later times it became renowned, as the residence of David, who established himself there, at the commencement of his reign, by divine appointment: "And the time that David was king of Hebron, over the house of Judah, was seven years and six months."¶ At the end of that period, he was made king over Israel as well as Judah, and the seat of royalty was transferred from the old mountainous city of Hebron to the hill of Zion.** It appears now to have sunk

* Gen. xiii. 17, 18.

† Numbers xiii. 22. Zoan or Tanis, was the capital of Lower Egypt, and a city of extreme antiquity.

‡ Gen xxiii. 2.. § Gen xxiii. 19. ‖ Gen. xviii. 1. ¶ 2 Sam. ii. 1—11 ** 2 Sam. v. 1—3.

into comparative insignificance, till it was made the scene of Absalom's unnatural insurrection.* Rehoboam regarded it as fitted to become one of the strong-holds of his kingdom, and fortified it according to the best rules of ancient art.

The veneration entertained for Hebron, as the dwelling place of the patriarchs, and as consecrated by their tombs, continued unabated through every age of Jewish history.† "There is no land more excellent than Egypt," said the Rabbis; "for it is as the garden of the Lord; nor is there in Egypt any place more excellent than Zoan, as it is said, 'Her princes were in Zoan;' and yet Hebron was seven times nobler, rocky as it was, than Zoan." It was also a common saying, "Rams from Moab, lambs from Hebron;" and when the appointed minister of the Temple ascended its battlements to announce the first dawn of day, and the hour for the morning sacrifice, his answer to those who asked, "Is it light?" was, "The morning is seen as far as Hebron." This mention of Hebron was made, it is said, that the virtues of those who were buried there, might be remembered at the daily sacrifice.‡ It was even believed by some of the Jews, that Adam directed his remains to be deposited near Hebron. "After my death," they represent him as saying, "men will come, perhaps, and take my bones to worship them. But I will hide my body very deep in the earth, in a cave within a cave." Hence the sacred spot referred to is called *the Cave Machpelah*, or *the Doubled Cave*.

As the birth-place of John the Baptist, Hebron possesses a further claim to the admiration of the Christian pilgrim. Venerable as is the ancient terebinth-tree, the oak of Mamre, under the shade of which Abraham is said to have reposed; and interesting as it is to contemplate the cave, to which tradition so confidently points as that which contains the dust of the father of the faithful, the name of John the Baptist awakens profounder feelings than those excited by even the oldest traditions. The light of the new day was looked for towards Hebron; and the splendour of the dawn overspreading the mountains, was nobly typical of the first rays of that dayspring from on high," which was "to give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death."§

This ancient city was a place of importance in the middle ages. Its position gave it the command of an extensive range of country; and the Crusaders regarded it as one of their richest prizes. Hence it was conferred by Godfrey of Bouillon, in a moment of great joy, on the bold and pious Gerhard of Avesnes. This noble Christian warrior had been left as a hostage in the little town of Arsuf, on the sea-

* 2 Sam. xv. 9, 10.

† Josephus says: "The people of the country assert that it is older, not only than any city of the land, but than Memphis in Egypt; and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand three hundred years. There is also there shown, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine-tree; and report goes that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world."—Bell., lib. iv. c. ix.

‡ Lightfoot's Works, vol. x. p. 97. § Luke i. 78, 79.

shore; and there, with others, suffered the most cruel treatment on the part of the Mussulmans. Godfrey hastened to besiege the place. At the instant when he was about to attack the walls, he saw Gerhard of Avesnes bound to the mast of a ship, and exposed at the point of the fortifications where the besiegers must make their fiercest assault. Bold as was Gerhard, his heart fainted when he saw that he must perish by the weapons of his brethren. He called with a loud and piercing cry to Godfrey, by whom he was tenderly beloved, to save him from such a fate. But the duke exhorted him to look with joy on the martyr's death; and to rest assured that it was not want of friendship which induced him so to speak, for that the life of his own brother Eustace, would have been regarded by him as of less value than the capture of Arsuf.

The assault was immediately commenced, and as the deadly shafts flew around him, Gerhard, strengthened by the words of Godfrey, quietly and gladly resigned himself to martyrdom, only beseeching the duke, as a last act of friendship, to give his favourite horse and knightly accoutrements to the servants of the Holy Sepulchre. Scarcely had this request passed his lips, when his body was pierced by ten darts; and a few minutes after, the great wooden tower, in which the foremost of the besiegers were carrying on the attack, took fire, and the Christian army was thrown into irrecoverable confusion. Godfrey was accordingly obliged to raise the siege, leaving not only Gerhard of Avesnes, but several other of his bravest knights, victims to the fury of the enemy. Nothing more was heard of Gerhard, and his name was already placed among those of the martyrs. Arsuf, unable to resist the successive attacks of adventurous knights, at length opened its gates to Godfrey, and this event was followed by a season of profound tranquillity. The Emir of Askalon manifested the most friendly dispositions towards Godfrey. Each vied with the other in showing some instance of kindness and confidence. One day, a strange knight, mounted on a stately horse, arrived from Askalon, and rode immediately, as charged with important intelligence, to salute the duke. Great was the joy, not only of Godfrey, but of the whole Christian army, when in the person of the strange knight was discovered Gerhard of Avesnes. The Mussulmans, it appears, had been struck with generous admiration at the fortitude which he displayed; and when it was found that his wounds were not mortal, they sent him to the Emir of Askalon, by whom he was treated with that species of heroic hospitality which the Saracens knew so well how to exercise.*

It was while full of delight at the recovery of his lost friend, that Godfrey bestowed upon him the Castle of Abraham, as Hebron was then called, with the adjacent lands. But Gerhard appears to have enjoyed his fief for only a short period. The Castle of Abraham is spoken of as having been a few years after in ruins. Its subsequent history is involved in obscurity. The establishment

* Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, t. ii. p. 40—44. Michaud Histoire des Croisades, t. ii. p. 7.

of an Episcopal see in the district shows that hopes were entertained of its forming a flourishing branch of the Christian Church in Palestine. But the conquests of Saladin reduced the new see to a mere name, and Hebron has, therefore, had but a very transitory connexion with Christendom, at any period of its history. Pilgrimages were made to Hebron in the fourteenth century, the pious travellers taking it in their way to Jerusalem, when they journeyed direct to that city from Mount Sinai through the desert. It was probably to meet the necessities of the concourse of strangers thus arriving at Hebron, that the hospital was established, spoken of in the chronicles of those times. This magnificent institution, so noble a proof of the charity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is said to have opened its gates to the poor and suffering, to the stranger and afflicted, of whatever country, or religion, he might be. Twelve hundred loaves of bread; a proportionable supply of other food, and of oil, were everyday dispensed to the numerous dependents on its bounty.

Other routes to Jerusalem becoming more acceptable to travellers, Hebron was but rarely visited during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of late years, it has been frequently resorted to by Europeans; and, a rare circumstance in the accounts of the Holy Land, they generally agree in the belief that the present town occupies the same site as the ancient Hebron, or Castle of Abraham. The Chevalier d'Arvieux, who visited it about the middle of the seventeenth century, describes his journey from Bethlehem to Hebron, a distance of seven leagues, with great particularity. Having passed by some of the places already described, he left the main road about a league from Hebron, and proceeded along the valley of Mamre, to the spot where Abraham dwelt. There he saw the foundations, and some remains of the walls of a building, supposed to have been the church erected by the bishop of Jerusalem in the days of Constantine. On approaching the city, his guides pointed out to him what was traditionally said to be the well of Jacob, and also a vineyard denominated the field of Damascus, from which, according to an old legend, the red earth was taken of which Adam was made. On similar authority, the grotto is shown in which he dwelt after the expulsion from Paradise; and where he wept over Abel, whom his brother slew at the end of this valley.

D'Arvieux supposes the ancient Hebron to have occupied a hill to the north, the site having been changed in the course of the various revolutions to which the city had been exposed. A strong castle on one of the adjacent heights indicated the former military character of the place. This castle when Dr. Robinson visited Hebron in 1838 was partly in ruins; and it is probable that the general aspect of the city may have been considerably changed within the last century. The present town is built along a deep and narrow valley, and is divided into three parts, olive-grounds and well-watered gardens separating the one quarter from the other.

Among the objects which most interest present travellers, are the ancient reservoirs, one of which Dr. Robinson regards as probably the pool spoken of in the

account of David's slaying the assassins of Ishbosheth: "And David commanded his young men, and they slew them, and cut off their hands and their feet, and hanged them up over the pool in Hebron. But they took the head of Ishbosheth, and buried it in the tomb of Abner in Hebron."*

The great Mosque, or Haram, at Hebron, is interesting as one of the most extensive edifices of the kind in the East; but more especially as erected over the spot supposed to contain the bodies of the patriarchs. It is commonly believed that the empress Helena caused a magnificent church to be erected over the tomb of Abraham. This structure long remained as an evidence of her piety and munificence; and though it now forms part of a Turkish Haram, enough may be traced of the original design to prove what confidence was placed in the truth of the ancient tradition. Never, indeed, could such costly edifices have been reared, except by those who fully trusted to the accounts which consecrated the soil, and rendered it dear to their souls. Deceived they might be, but their own convictions must have been deep and intense; nor is it always easy to understand how, with many advantages for carrying on inquiry, and certainly not wanting in ordinary acuteness, the pilgrims of early ages should have been so frequently in error as modern travellers imagine.

Ali Bey, taking advantage of the disguise which enabled him to penetrate the recesses of the mosque at Jerusalem, traversed, in a similar manner, the courts of the Haram at Hebron. He describes the ascent to the temple which contains the sepulchres of Abraham, and his family, as a noble staircase, leading to a long gallery, which is entered by a small court. On the left is a portico, supported by square pillars. In the vestibule are two rooms, the one to the right containing the sepulchre of Abraham, and that to the left the sepulchre of Sarah. Between two large pillars, in the body of the church, is a small structure surmounting the tomb of Isaac, while a corresponding one, on the opposite side, covers that of Rebecca. Crossing the court, another vestibule is seen. This contains the sepulchres of Jocob and his wife; and at the extremity of the portico of the temple, connected with a spacious gallery, is a room in which the sepulchre is placed which received the remains of Joseph, when brought by his people from Egypt.

These sepulchres are covered with carpets of the finest silk, richly embroidered with gold. Those of the patriarchs are green; and those of their wives crimson. They are furnished by the sultans of Constantinople; and Ali Bey mentions, that he counted nine, lying one over the other, upon the tomb of Abraham. The entrances to the rooms which contain the sepulchres, are guarded by iron gates, and wooden doors, plated with silver, the bolts and locks pertaining to them being of the same metal.

The Chevalier d'Arvieux found it impossible to gain a sight of the tombs. They

* 2 Sam. iv 12.

are inaccessible, he says, to both Christians and Jews; and, according to him, even the Turks dare scarcely approach them, lest they should suffer loss of sight for their presumption, such having been the fate of some, it was asserted, who had shown themselves too curious. There is an opening, however, into the first cavern, which may thus be partially viewed by the help of torches; and here Christians and Jews, and pilgrims from every nation may be seen at their devotions.

The jealousy with which the sepulchres of the patriarchs were thus guarded by the Turks, has not abated since the times of d'Arvieux. This is strikingly shown in the following narrative.* "Agreeably to an engagement with the governor and the sheikh, they arrived a little before nine, accompanied by their suite, and the chiefs of the Portuguese and German synagogues. The party being assembled, coffee, pipes, and other refreshments were served with all due attention to Eastern etiquette. But little time was spent before all was in readiness for our departure. We were soon mounted: Ibrahim, our janissaries, and soldiers escorting us, and many of our brethren following on foot, all eager to obtain admission to a sight of the venerated spot, where repose the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As we proceeded through the streets, many a proud Mussulman eyed us with jealous scrutiny. The inhabitants of Hebron differ from their turbaned brethren of Jerusalem, and other cities. Much of urbanity and kindness are discernible in the conduct of the latter, while the former, strutting about, or seated on the side of the streets, seem only anxious to show the pride, and exercise the violence, of conquerors. On arriving at the gate of the mosque, we found a great crowd assembled, and consisting chiefly of Turks, among whom was a dervish, the sound of whose hideous cries, as he shook his head, and tossed his arms furiously about, his whole appearance rendered doubly frightful by a dark grizzly beard, was almost enough to terrify a bolder heart than mine. To his hideous yells, as we continued to approach, were added those of the multitude; but, encouraged by the governor and the cadi, who led the way, we dismounted, and gained an entrance. It was soon apparent, however, that the authority of office exercises little influence here. A turbulent throng of Mussulmans was collected in the interior of the mosque, and they were soon joined by the raving dervish. In the meantime, the noise outside continued to increase, and the Jews, who were anxiously waiting to obtain a sight of the burial-place of their revered forefathers, experienced the most violent insults. The moslem, with pale face, pointed to an iron door, saying, it was that which led to the interior of the cave. But the rage of the Turks, and the howling of the dervish, now became more violent than ever; and we decided that it would be prudent to retire, without attempting a further entrance. We accordingly retreated as we had advanced; the governor and the cadi, with their officers, preceding us. On leaving this scene of fanatic fury, the governor attempted some apology for what had

* Notes from a Private Journal (not published) by Lady Montefiore, 1844, pp. 302-5.

occurred, observing that it was impossible for him to check the violence of religious enthusiasm. This might be true; but, as governor of a town, he should have known better the extent and force of his authority, and not have allowed us to encounter so much confusion and alarm."

The environs of Hebron are picturesque, and remarkable for fertility. Its gardens and orchards produce the richest fruit; and the green valley which leads to its gates is known by the characteristic title of "the Vale of Flowers." Pomegranates, figs, and apricots, from the gardens of Hebron, vie with the choicest produce of those of Damascus, while the vineyards still bear their purple clusters rejoicingly, as in the days when the vale of Eshcol was first explored by the descendants of Abraham.* Even the interior of the city exhibited signs of plenty. Dr. Robinson says, "that he and his companions were struck not only with the excellence and cheapness of the fruits exposed for sale, but with the butchers' stalls, and the abundance of mutton hung out, the fatness and delicacy of which would not have disgraced an English farmer." Some manufactories, and especially one of glass, are carried on at Hebron; and though the town, like all others in the East, affords sufficient instances of poverty, its inhabitants in general are far less wretched in their state or appearance, than those of Jerusalem. This was still more the case before the year 1834, when Ibraham Pasha punished the daring opposition of the Hebronites to his arms, by levelling a great part of the city with the dust. "Hebron," says Mr. Stephens, "bears no traces of the glory of its Jewish king. Thunder and lightning, and earthquakes, wars, pestilence, and famine, have passed over it: and a small town of white houses, compactly built on the side of the mountain, a mosque and two minarets, are all that mark the ancient city of Hebron."†

Very different accounts are given of the population of Hebron. By some writers it is estimated at ten thousand; while others speak of it as amounting to only half that number. It must be difficult, however, to obtain any very correct account of the population of a place which consists, for the most part, of wretched lanes, and narrow little streets, as crowded as they are dark and filthy. Few travellers, it is probable, would visit Hebron but for its interesting locality. With the exception of the outer walls of the Haram, not a single structure exists to excite curiosity. Dr. Robinson supposes that this remarkable wall formed the enclosure of the patriarchal sepulchres in the earliest ages.‡ Josephus speaks of monuments existing in Hebron in his time, formed of the most beautiful marble, and wrought with great skill and elegance.§ As it is not probable that the Jews would leave these precious remains of remote times unprotected, so there seems good reason to believe, that the walls, which bear so many signs of great antiquity, were part of the outer edifice as it existed before the Christian era. Their form is that of a parallelogram; the length being about two hundred feet, and the breadth about one hundred and fif-

* Num. xiii. 23. † Incidents of Travel, c. xxv. ‡ Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 437.
§ Bell. lib. iv. c. ix. s. 7. Antiq. lib. i. c. 14.

teen. The architecture resembles that seen in the remains of the ancient temple at Jerusalem, the walls being built of stones of huge size, hewn in the same manner as those found in the holy city. Sixteen square pilasters on each side, and eight at each end, form the external support of the walls, which rise to the height of fifty or sixty feet. The height of the walls has been still further increased, by the anxiety of the Mussulmans to prevent the possibility of any intrusion upon their privity. No windows exist in any part of the structure; and its appearance is well calculated to excite those feelings of curiosity, which naturally arise where remote antiquity, religion, and tradition seem to hallow the spot. Mr. Bartlett says, "The architecture of this singular structure is very perplexing. The excellency of the masonry is far from indicating a rude, or early origin; while the cornice, or capital, unlike anything of the kind in Greek, or Roman architecture, is certainly neither Christian, nor Saracenic." The superior part of the wall is furnished with battlements and loop-holes, the angles being crowned with minarets. "Above this wall," it is added, "may be seen the roof of what appears to be a basilica of Byzantine architecture," the roof, that is, of the mosque, or Haram, built over the ancient sepulchres.

FROM HEBRON TO PETRA.

It is only of late years, after the lapse of many ages, that the rocky wildernesses of ancient Edom have been traversed by the step of a European traveller. The flowery vales of Hebron might win the most wandering spirit to repose: the desolate tracks which lie beyond them, might daunt the boldest from entering their gloomy labyrinths. Two thousand years have cast their weight of shadows over Bozrah; over the graves of the people who made their nest "high as the eagle;" and the words have been fulfilled, even to the letter, which proclaimed, "Thou shalt be desolate, O mount Seir, and all Idumæa, even all of it: and they shall know that I am the Lord,"*

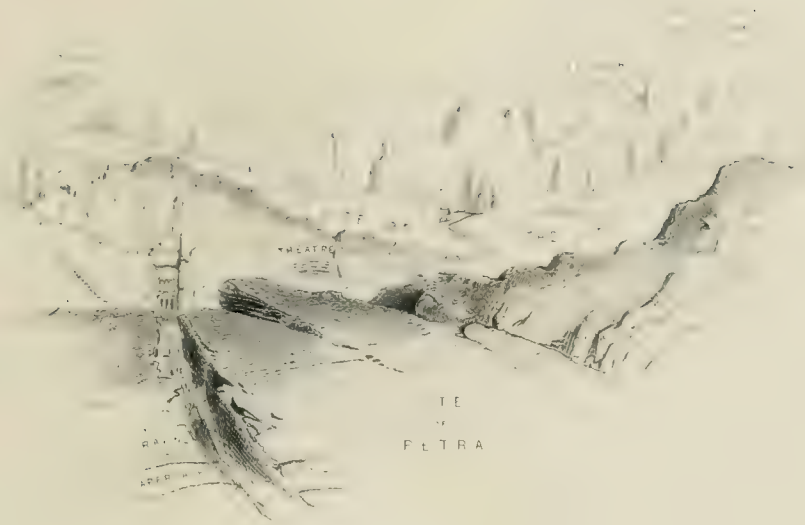
Petra, or, as in the Hebrew Scriptures, Selah,† was the capital of the Edomites. It is mentioned by the latter name in the account given of Amaziah's conquest, where it is said, that "he slew of Edom, in the valley of salt, ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day."‡ The wealth, power, and military glory of Idumæa, filled the hearts both of the people and its princes with the loftiest notions of their greatness. They believed themselves destined to brave the storms and revolutions of ages; to be as immovable as the gigantic rocks around them: and they seemed almost justified in believing that, though time and change might level other mighty cities with the dust, their magnificent Petra, which spread along the valley as if it had existed from the first, identical with the everlasting hills, could never be overthrown.

But while such were the proud hopes of Idumæa, divine wisdom had already pronounced its sentence: "My sword shall be bathed in heaven. Behold it shall come down upon Idumæa and upon the people of my curse to judgment . . . . . The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Idumæa." Then, speaking of the general desolation of the land, the prophet adds: "From generation to generation it shall lie waste: none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it: the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness." And further: "Thorns shall come up in her palaces,

* Ezek. xxxv. 15.

† Both words signify *a rock*—a name descriptive of the situation of the city, and of the character of the surrounding country.

‡ 2 Kings xiv. 7.


THEATRE
TE
PETRA

nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be an habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow: the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow. There shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate."*

After a hundred years had passed away since the delivery of this awful prediction, the word of the Lord was thus again heard denouncing Idumæa: "Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill. Though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord. Also Edom shall be a desolation. Every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof."†

These prophecies were fulfilled to the letter. The powerful and haughty people; their mighty city and rock-built fortresses, were swept away by the breath of the divine displeasure, and only such relics were left of them as might best display the irresistible strength of the word and righteousness of God.

It would be a useful but melancholy exercise of historical skill, to trace the decline of such a city as Petra, from one stage of decay to another, till it lay overwhelmed in ruins, crumbling beneath the onward step, dark and terrible, of heavenly providence. But we can only observe its downward progress at wide and distant periods. Long after the posterity of Edom had ceased to be a people, the ancient capital of their land was a vast and splendid city. Even in the times when Jerusalem was trembling at the signs of its approaching overthrow, Petra seemed still capable of defying the hosts of enemies by which it was surrounded, and of even rendering help to its more powerful allies. The sources of its wealth were, at one time, apparently inexhaustible. It was through Petra that the commerce of the old world found its securest channels. Thus it is stated, that while the communication with Egypt was kept up by the Arabians, and before the Red Sea was covered with the fleets of Ptolemy, Petra was the common centre of commercial intercourse. "From Petra, the trade, carried on with the interior of Arabia, branched off in various directions, to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoe, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and other routes, all terminating on the Mediterranean.‡ And further: Petra was the point to which all the Arabians traded from the three sides of their vast peninsula. Here we find the Ishmaelites from Gilead,§ conducting a caravan of camels loaded with the spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramant; and, in the regular course of their traffic, proceeding to Egypt for a market."

* Isai. xxxiv. 5—15. † Jer. xlix. 16, 17.

‡ Vincent's Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, vol. ii. p. 260.

§ Gen. xxxvii. 25.

Though the transaction here spoken of, adds Dr. Vincent, took place more than three thousand years ago, it resembles, in all respects, the passage of a caravan across the desert in the present times.

Idumæa, it was observed by Volney,* had not been visited, in his day, by any modern traveller, well as it deserved to be explored. He had learnt by common report that traces existed there of a vast and wealthy population. Nor ought this, he says, to create astonishment, for Petra was the country of the Nabathæans, the most powerful of the Arab race, and of those Idumæans who in the last age of Jerusalem, and when Titus was advancing against it, assembled at once thirty thousand men to increase the garrison.

It has been well remarked, that we ought to regard it as a very valuable circumstance, that an infidel writer, like Volney, should have, unknowingly, contributed a most important species of evidence to the truth of prophecy. "That the Idumæans were a populous and powerful nation long posterior to the delivery of the prophecies; that they possessed a tolerably good government; that Idumæa contained many cities; that these cities are now absolutely deserted; and that their ruins swarm with enormous scorpions; that it was a commercial nation, and possessed highly frequented marts; that it forms a shorter route than an ordinary one to Judæa, and yet that it had not been visited by any traveller, are facts all recorded, or proved to a wish, by this able but unconscious commentator."†

Such were the accounts given of Petra, and its neighbourhood, before any traveller of later times had ventured to penetrate its recesses. At length the bold and devoted Burckhardt determined to prosecute his journey to *Wady Mousa*, the native appellation of this remarkable district. He did not expect, however, to be able to explore it with sufficient minuteness to satisfy either his own curiosity, or that of others. "I was without protection," he says, "in the midst of a desert where no traveller had ever before been seen; and a close examination of these works of the infidels, as the antiquities are called, would have excited suspicions that I was a magician in search of treasures. Future travellers may visit the spot under the protection of an armed force: the inhabitants will become more accustomed to the researches of strangers; and the antiquities of Wady Mousa will then be found to rank amongst the most curious remains of ancient art."‡

But though Burckhardt visited Petra under the disadvantages here spoken of, his account of the monuments seen along the valley was sufficient to convince other travellers of the deeply interesting character of the country. He was not certain that the ruins which he had discovered were those of the ancient Petra; but he reasoned on the high probability of their being so; and subsequent investigations have proved the correctness of his conclusions. Of the general aspect of the spot, he

* Voyage en Syrie et Egypt pendant 1783-5, t. ii. p. 317.

† Keith, Evidence from Prophecy, Art. Idumæa. ‡ Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 422.

says, "That the position of the city had been well chosen in point of security; for it might be defended by a few hundred men, against the attacks of a large army. But the communication with the neighbourhood must have been very difficult and inconvenient, owing to the narrow and rocky nature of the passes leading to the valley. The summer heats, also, must have been excessive, the spot pointed out as the site of the city being surrounded, on all sides, by lofty, barren cliffs, which, while they concentrate the rays of the sun, effectually prevent the circulation of the westerly winds. I saw nothing," says Burckhardt, "in the position that could have compensated the inhabitants for these disadvantages, except the river, the benefit of which might have been enjoyed as well, had the town been built below Eldjy. Security, therefore, was probably the only object which induced the people to overlook such inconveniences, and to select so singular a position for a city."

This enterprising traveller having thus opened a path through the valley of Petra, others soon began to regard the investigation of its numerous relics, as promising results sufficient to repay any amount of toil or danger. We have accordingly been furnished with ample details respecting the present appearance of this remarkable locality. Most of the later travellers in the holy land have extended their course to *Wady Mousa*; and their several accounts agree together in representing the scene which they there beheld as affording the most striking illustrations of the Scripture record.

The journey from Hebron to Petra is one of constant and strange excitement. It leads through a country so little known, that every hill, and watercourse, and glen, seems to claim the traveller's notice, as marking his progress into a land where all things have been forgotten. Carmel* is reached in about three hours from Hebron. An historical interest is attached to its name, as the scene of Saul's rebellion after his victory over the Amalekites;† as that of David's early wanderings and perilous adventures; and as having bordered on the possessions of the wealthy but foolish Nabal, the husband of the beautiful and prudent Abigail.‡ But no mention had been made of this place since the time of the Crusades, and it would probably soon have been wholly forgotten but for the almost accidental mention of it under the name of Kurmul, by the German writer Seetzen. It is singular that such a place should have been so lost even to tradition. Dr. Robinson states that he had nowhere met with ruins of greater extent; and according to his description of their general character, there must once have existed here a city of considerable importance.§

As the traveller continues to pursue his route, the scenery becomes more and more savage. Having passed through the country of the Jehâlin, which anciently

* The reader need scarcely be reminded that the Carmel here spoken of, is far distant from the Carmel which rises from the fertile plains about Acre.

† 1 Sam. xv. 12. ‡ 1 Sam. xxv. 2. § Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 196.

pertained to the south of Judah, he enters upon a desolate tract of land, here and there marked by the ruins of cities, all record of which has been lost for ages. Beyond the intervening wilderness of rocks, he catches a view of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, with the misty valleys which run down to its shores. At length he enters upon a dark and narrow ridge of land, known by the name of Usdum, and extending almost to the marshes of the sea. The whole of this region exhibits the most singular characteristics. It is for some distance one solid mass of rock-salt. Though covered for the most part with layers of limestone, the massive salt is often seen above this slight covering, and appears in a pure, crystallized fossil form, in precipices several hundred feet in length, and forty or fifty in height.*

The solemnity of the scenes through which the traveller passes is not less striking than their wildness. In describing one of the deep gorges of the mountains, along which he and his companions were slowly winding their way, Dr. Robinson says, "The evening was warm and still; we, therefore, did not pitch our tents, but spread our carpets on the sand, and lay down, not indeed, at first, to sleep, but to enjoy the scene, and the associations which thronged upon our minds. It was truly one of the most romantic desert scenes we had yet met with, and I hardly remember another in all our wanderings, of which I retain a more lively impression. Here was the deep broad valley in the midst of the Arabah, unknown to all the civilized world, shut in by high and singular cliffs: over against us were the mountains of Edom: in the distance rose Mount Hor in its lone majesty, the spot where the aged prophet-brothers took of each other their last farewell; while above our heads was the deep azure of an oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm. Near at hand were the flashing fires of our party; the Arabs themselves in their wild attire, all were at supper round one bowl; our Egyptian servants looking on; one after another rising and gliding through the glow of the fires; the sheikh approaching and saluting us; the serving of coffee; and beyond all this circle, the patient camels lying at their ease, and lazily chewing the cud."

As the traveller proceeds, Mount Hor becomes a more distinct feature in the solitary landscape. This mountain belongs to the huge rocky tract of hills, known by the general name of Mount Seir, first spoken of in Genesis, where it is said, that "Chedorlaomer, and the kings with him, smote the Horites in their Mount Seir, unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness;"† and there too Esau dwelt, for "Jacob sent messengers before him, to Esau his brother, unto the land of Seir, the country

* Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 481-5. The whole of Dr. Robinson's account of his journey through this district is very interesting and valuable, in a geographical, as well as in a Biblical, point of view.

† Chap. xiv. 6.

of Edom."* Mount Hor rises in stern, majestic grandeur from the midst of this gloomy region, towering like a giant in the midst of giants, and appearing to the eye of imagination, as if placed in the centre of the wilderness to rule the subject solitudes by which it is surrounded. It was on Mount Hor† that Aaron, by God's own appointment, took off the priestly garments, and died. A circular dome, on the summit of the mountain, is supposed to mark the spot where his remains were deposited. Mr. Stephens who ascended the mount, at the hazard of his life, describes the tomb as a building about thirty feet square, containing a single chamber. In front of the door is a stone, somewhat like a tombstone, and covered with a pall of faded red cotton, now in shreds and patches. Another stone stands at the head of this monumental slab, and here the Mussulman offers up his sacrifices in honour of the name and memory of Aaron. "The stone," says our traveller, "was blackened with smoke, stains of blood, and fragments of burnt brush were still about it, all was ready but the victim; and when I saw the reality of the preparations, I was very well satisfied to have avoided the necessity of conforming to the Mussulman custom. A few ostrich eggs, the usual ornaments of a mosque, were suspended from the ceiling, and the rest of the chamber was perfectly bare. After going out, and from the very top of the tomb surveying again and again the desolate and dreary scene which presented itself on every side, always terminating with the distant view of the Dead Sea, I returned within; and examining once more the tomb and the altar, walked carefully round the chamber. There was no light except what came from the door; and in groping in the extreme corner on one side, my foot descended into an aperture in the floor. I put it down carefully, and found a step, then another, and another, evidently a staircase leading to a chamber below. I went down till my head was on the level of the floor, but could see nothing. All was dark."

The difficulty of obtaining a light; the agony of suspense and curiosity which the traveller experienced when he found that the usual means of obtaining one had been forgotten by his servant; the joy which he felt when, by the aid of his pistol, he set fire to a pile of dry brush and cotton rags, which lay at the foot of the altar; all this is described by Mr. Stephens in a manner which shows how deeply an adventurous traveller is imbued with the sentiment of romance.

A light, however, being kindled, both master and servant seized a torch, and descended into the vault. At the foot of the steps, they entered a narrow chamber, at the further end of which was an iron grating, with an opening in the centre. This grating guarded the niche in the rock, said to be the tomb of Aaron. "I tore aside," says Mr. Stephens, "the rusty grating, and thrusting in my arm up to the shoulders, touched the hallowed spot. The rocks and mountains were echoing the discharge of my pistol, like peals of crashing thunder; and while, with the

* Chap. xxxii. 3. † Num. xx. 22—28.

burning brand in one hand, I was thrusting the other through the grating, the deafening reverberations seemed to rebuke me for an act of sacrilege, and I rushed up the steps like a guilty and fear-struck criminal. Suddenly I heard from the foot of the mountain a quick and irregular discharge of fire-arms, which again resounded in loud echos through the mountains. It was far from my desire that the bigoted Mussulmans should come upon me, and find me with my pistol still smoking in my hand, and the brush still burning in the tomb of the prophet; and tearing off a piece of the ragged pall, we hurried from the place, and dashed down the mountain on the opposite side, with a speed and recklessness that fear only could give. If there was room for question between a scramble or a jump, we gave the jump; and when we could not jump, our shoes were off in a moment, one leaned over the brow of the precipice and gave the other his hand, and down we went, allowing nothing to stop us. Once for a moment we were at a loss; but Paul, who, in the excitement of one successful leap after another, had become amazingly confident, saw a stream of water, and made for it, with the glorious boast, that where water descended, we could. And the suggestion proved correct, although the water found much less difficulty in getting down than we did. In short, after an ascent the most toilsome, and a descent the most hare-brained and perilous it was ever my fortune to accomplish, in about half-an-hour we were at the base of the mountain, but still hurrying on to join our escort."*

At a short distance from Wady Mousa, the traveller enters the somewhat populous village of Eldjy, situated in the midst of hills, the sides of which exhibit agreeable signs of fertility and cultivation, while the neighbouring valley is watered by a copious stream. It was here that Burckhardt† began his inquiries respecting the antiquities of Wady Mousa; and from the appearance of several large hewn stones lying about the village, he conjectured that some city might anciently have existed in this part of the valley. A little beyond the village, and where the valley becomes narrow, he found a large sepulchral vault, with a handsome door, hewn in the rock. Other tombs of a similar kind were also discovered about this spot; and a few hundred paces further on, where the valley seemed almost closed in by lofty rocks, he came to a chasm which formed the bed of a broad and rapid torrent. This chasm is spanned by a bridge, still entire, and below which, the rocks are adorned with elegant sculptures. After proceeding along the valley for about twenty minutes, he reached a spot, where the passage opened, and the bed of another stream joined that already spoken of. Here, on the side of the perpendi-

* Incidents of Travel, chap. xxii.

† Travels in Syria, p. 420. When Seetzen made his journey in 1806, he was anxious, he says, to discover Petra, but was told that it was distant one day's journey from Karrak. He afterwards heard from the bishop of Karrak, at Jerusalem, that it was two leagues from the Dead Sea. This learned traveller, therefore, never reached Wady Mousa.—Brief Account, &c., published for the Palestine Association, 1810.

cular rock, immediately opposite the entrance to the main valley, he suddenly discovered the magnificent mausoleum, the situation and beauty of which were so calculated, he says, to astonish the traveller, after having been so long traversing a gloomy and almost subterraneous passage through the rocks.

This wonderful monument is called by the natives Pharaoh's Castle. It is generally understood, however, to have been a sepulchre rather than a palace; and great, it is observed, must have been the opulence of the city, which could dedicate such monuments to the memory of its rulers. A solemn lesson it is, remarks the celebrated French artist, whose designs first made us really acquainted with the wonders of Petra, to find that the true name of the founder of such monuments as these has utterly passed away.

The impression conveyed by the descriptions of those who first explored the Wady Mousa, leads to the notion, that the position occupied by the ancient city was enclosed on all sides by perpendicular cliffs. But it is bounded only on the east and west by the rocky heights, the view to the north and south being comparatively open. So strange and wild, however, is the surrounding scenery, that, astonishing as are the sculptured rocks, the castles, and sepulchres which have been framed out of the solid sides of the mountains, it has been questioned by some travellers, whether deserved the greater admiration, these monuments of the past, or the sublime features of the region, still presenting, as it has ever done, the impress of an almost supernatural grandeur.

Exceeding in beauty the edifice before spoken of, the structure known by the Arabic name of El-Khuzneh, or "The Treasure," occupies a spot the magnificence of which is said to be unequalled by any of the scenes most familiar to the imagination for their surpassing sublimity. "All at once," says Dr. Robinson, "the beautiful façade of the Khuzneh burst upon our view, in all the delicacy of its first chiselling, and in all the freshness and beauty of its soft colouring." It was not the particular character of the architecture in itself; not the purity of the style, or the nature of the ornaments; but the beauty of the whole in its general effect, which so charmed the observer. "I was perfectly fascinated," says the writer above quoted "with this splendid work of ancient art in this wild spot; and the idea of it was uppermost in my mind during the day, and all the night. In the morning, I returned, and beheld it again with increased admiration. There it strands, as it has stood for ages, in beauty and loneliness. The generations which admired and rejoiced over it of old, have passed away. The wild Arab as he wanders by, regards it with stupid indifference or scorn; and none are left but strangers from far distant lands to do it reverence. Its rich roseate tints, as I bade it farewell, were lighted up and gilded by the mellow beams of the morning sun; and I turned away from it at length, with an impression which will be effaced only at death."*

* Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 519.

Other travellers speak in similar terms of the singular beauty which these wonderful structures derive from the splendid hues of the rock in which they are formed. "The whole stony rampart," says Mr. Stephens, "which encircled the city, was of a peculiarity and beauty that I never saw elsewhere; being a dark ground, with veins of white, blue, red, purple, and sometimes scarlet and light orange, running through it in rainbow streaks; and within the chambers, where there had been no exposure to the action of the elements, the freshness and beauty of the colours in which these waving lines were drawn, gave an effect hardly inferior to that of the paintings in the tombs of the kings at Thebes. From its high and commanding position, and the unusual finish of the work, this house, if so it may be called, had no doubt been the residence of one who had strutted his hour of brief existence among the wealthy citizens of Petra. In front was a large table of rock, forming a sort of court for the excavated dwelling, where, probably, year after year, in this beautiful climate, the Edomite of old sat under the gathering shades of evening, sometimes looking down upon the congregated thousands, and the stirring scenes in the theatre beneath, or beyond upon the palaces and dwellings in the area of the then populous city."*

The theatre alluded to in this passage is wholly hewn out of the rock. This must have been a work of immense labour. According to the measurements given by Irby and Mangles, the diameter of the podium is one hundred and twenty feet, the number of seats is thirty-three, and that of the cunii three. There was no break, it is added, and there were, therefore, no vomitories. Laborde states that the place of the stage could be easily traced; but Irby and Mangles lament that, this portion of the theatre having been built, and not excavated, the whole had fallen, the bases of four columns only remaining of the interior of the edifice. These authors all agree in remarking the singular fact, that the theatre is surrounded by sepulchres. 'Every avenue leading to it is full of them; and it may be safely asserted, that a hundred of those of the largest dimensions are visible from it.' Strange must have been the dispositions of the people who could so habituate themselves to the idea of death, as tranquilly to contemplate its abodes from the benches of a theatre!†

Considerable doubt is entertained as to the character, or design, of some of the excavations of Petra. Burckhardt regarded El-Khuzneh as a magnificent tomb. By other writers it is confidently described as a splendid residence. The same remark applies to several other excavations. One especially is spoken of. It pre-

* Incidents of Travel, chap. xxi. "Quel est donc ce peuple qui ouvrait la montagne pour y apposer ainsi le sceau de sa force et de son genie? Et quel est ce climat qui dore de ses rayons les formes gracieuses de ces sculptures sans permettre à ses hivers d'en rompre les vives arêtes, d'en amoindrir le haut relief?"—Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée par Laborde, p. 57.

† A Journal of Travels, chap. viii. Laborde, Voyage, p. 56. Burckhardt considered that the theatre was capable of holding about three thousand spectators. He found the area filled up with gravel, brought down by the winter torrents.—Travels, p. 427. Lord Lindsay says that the theatre is grander than might be supposed from Laborde's Sketch.—Letters, vol. ii. p. 35.

sents a front with four windows, with a large and lofty doorway in the centre. In the interior, is a chamber near sixty feet in length, extending across three of the windows, and the door; while at the lower end, the fourth window seems to have belonged to a very small sleeping-room. This is said to be, in appearance, the most important of all the excavated residences in the valley; but it is wholly destitute of any external ornament. The entrance to it is by a narrow path, or shelf, cut out of the side of the mountain. Other dwellings of an inferior character are connected with it; but it would be difficult to tell whether some of the grottoes, as described by Irby and Mangles, were intended for the dead or the living. The greater number of them are near an angle of the mountain, where the bed of the river passes into a narrow defile. Along the rugged sides of this path of the torrent is "a sort of excavated suburb, consisting of very small and mean chambers, set one above another, without much regularity, like so many pigeon-holes in the rock, with flights of steps, or narrow inclined planes leading up to them." The main wall and ceiling only of some of them are in the solid rock; the fronts and partitions being formed with cement, and exhibiting but bad specimens of masonry.*

The largest of the sepulchres as described by these travellers had originally three stories, the lowest story being ornamented with four portals, divided by large columns. In the second and third stories, the façade was decorated with eighteen Ionic pillars. The rock not being of sufficient height for the entire elevation, a part of the upper story was formed of masonry, and this for the most, has yielded to time, and the action of the atmosphere. Of the four chambers on the basement floor, the distribution and arrangement are said to be very different. They have no communication with each other, but each offers convincing proofs of its original adaptation to sepulchral purposes. Near this excavation is another, of great interest and beauty. Though generally symmetrical in its form, it presents irregularities which can only be accounted for on the supposition, that, as the chambers within were in nowise connected with each other, they were intended to become the tombs of different families, and were, therefore, decorated according to individual taste.

A triumphal arch, and some other monuments indicative of the extent and grandeur of the ancient city, are also spoken of by the travellers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of Petra. But the most important next to El-Khuzneh, is an excavated temple called "The Deir." This structure stands in a remote part of the valley, and is only reached by a narrow and difficult path, running along a ravine of the wildest character. The Deir is hewn out of the face of the rock, and occupies the highest range of the mountain crags. Its façade is said to be wider than that of El-Khuzneh. In the three compartments into which the upper part is

* A Journal of Travels, chap. viii.

divided, are niches intended for statues; and the entire surface of the monument is covered with various species of ornaments.

But, ambitious as the architect of this structure, if so it may be called, seems to have been to load it with decorations, the interior exhibits, like that of El-Khuzneh, the utmost degree of plainness and simplicity. It consists of only one large square chamber, the walls of which are smooth and unbroken, except by a single arched niche, which is approached by two or three steps on each side, and may be supposed, from its appearance, to have been intended for an altar.* That it was once so occupied is rendered probable from the traces which may still be discovered of a cross; and though there is little doubt that the place was originally devoted to heathen worship, there is every reason to believe that it was used as a chapel by the Christians who dwelt about these valleys in the middle ages.

Impressively grand and beautiful as are the several characteristics of the vale of Petra, they are rendered still more so by the peculiar richness of the foliage, which covers many portions of the rocks, filling the wildest nooks of the ravine with the deepest-tinted verdure of oriental summer, and casting over the whole a sadly beautiful, a sweet and solemn aspect of immortality in the midst of ruin. In describing one of the romantic passes through the narrowest part of the valley, Lord Lindsay says, "Lofty crags, almost perpendicular, tower on each side; deep fissures yawning in their breasts, tufted with evergreens, and single isolated rocks guarding the pass like centinels. The road winds through a thick wood of sedder, arrah, oleander, and accacia-trees, besides others of which I know not the names, presenting every shade of green."† Of a similar spot, Irby and Mangles say, "The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, which were soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one's approaching their lonely habitations, added much to the singularity of the scene. The tamarisk, the wild fig, and the oleander grow luxuriantly about the road, rendering the passage often difficult. In some places they hang down most beautifully from the cliffs and crevices where they have taken root. The cape-plant was also in luxuriant growth."‡

The language of Mr. Stephens still more strongly depicts the marvellous mixture of grandeur, beauty, and sadness which characterize Wady Mousa. For about two miles, he says, the valley runs between precipitous ranges of rocks, the height of which varies from five hundred to a thousand feet. In some places two horsemen could barely pass abreast. Between these overhanging precipices a noisy, foaming stream dashes along, like a lion escaped from the toils. On the rocky sides of the cliffs wild fig-trees, oleanders, and ivy were growing in dense luxuriance, many hundreds of feet above the head of the traveller, while far beyond the highest pinnacle of the mountains, the eagle was screaming, as rejoicing in his power to look down upon the crumbling ruins of man's proudest efforts, and on the evanescent glory of

* Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 537. † Letters, vol. ii. p. 41. ‡ Journal, chap. viii.

even nature herself. Speaking of the principal temple in the valley, Mr. Stephens says, "Even now that I have returned to the pursuits and thought-engrossing incidents of a life in the busiest city in the world, often in situations as widely different as light from darkness, I see before me the façade of that temple. Neither the Coliseum at Rome, grand and interesting as it is, nor the ruins of the Acropolis at Athens, nor the Pyramids, nor the mighty temples of the Nile, are so often present to my memory."

The danger and difficulty attending a visit to Petra have been stated by all the travellers who have hitherto accomplished it. Burckhardt found himself watched at every step; and the moment he turned out of the direct path to examine one of the monuments, his guide exclaimed, "I see now clearly, that you are an infidel, who have some particular business amongst the ruins of the city of your forefathers. But depend upon it, we shall not suffer you to take out a single para of all the treasures hidden here, for they are in our territory, and belong to us." Nothing could convince the Arab that the traveller had come, inspired only by curiosity, to explore the antiquities of the valley. The idea was rooted in the minds of the people generally, that the strangers who sought to examine the ruins were the descendants of the former inhabitants of the region, and were preparing to claim both the lands and the hidden treasures of the sepulchres. To this was added a belief that many of these visitors were possessed of magical powers, and that it was, therefore, hardly sufficient to watch their movements; for, according to the common notion, the well-skilled magician has only just to look at the spot where the gold and silver are hid, to enable him by his spells to abstract it at his leisure, or to compel the guardian of the treasure to appear before him, and spread the precious store at his feet.* It is of little use to invite the Arabs to see whether any attempt be made to look for money; they immediately answer, "Of course you will not dare to take it out before us; but we know that if you be a skilful magician, you will order it to follow you through the air, to whatever place you please." Burckhardt states that even the most liberal-minded Turks of Syria reason in the same manner, and the more travellers they see, the stronger is their conviction that their object is to search for treasures. *Maon delayl*, "He has indications of treasure with him," is an expression continually heard.

Few travellers have visited Petra in so lonely and unprotected a state as Burckhardt. Their perils have accordingly had a different character; but still they would have been sufficient to appal men whose nerves had not derived a peculiar tension from the mighty influence of long travel, and the growing force of curiosity, or the spirit of inquiry.

Money appears to be the main object with the Arab chiefs in their intercourse with strangers. They have now probably given up the hope of discovering the treasures

* Travels, p. 428.

supposed to be hidden in the ancient monuments; and seem resolved on compensating themselves by making every traveller tributary to their power. Dr. Robinson and his party were exposed to the exactions of the aged Arab chief, from whom Irby and Mangles, twenty years before, suffered similar treatment. From the accounts given by all those who have encountered the Bedouins about Wady Mousa, both discretion and courage seem necessary to ward off their attacks. They now speak less of their apprehensions from the power of magii, than of their right to claim a tribute of every one who sets foot upon the soil, whether in the valley or on the desert, over which they roam. Mr. Stephens says, that among all the pictures and descriptions of robbers and bandits he had ever seen, none had struck him as "so unprepossessing as a party of desert Arabs coming down upon the traveller on their dromedaries." But, he adds, "one soon gets over the effect of their dark and scowling visages; and, after becoming acquainted with their weapons and bodily strength, a man of ordinary vigour, well armed, feels no little confidence in himself among them. They are small in stature, under our middle size, and thin almost to emaciation. Their breast-bones stand out very prominently; the ribs are as distinctly perceptible as the bars of a gridiron, and their empty stomachs seem drawn up till they touch the backbone." So also their weapons are said to be ugly enough, but far from really formidable. The sheik was the only one in the party here spoken of who carried pistols, and they were not in a state to be readily discharged. Swords and matchlock guns were the weapons of the rest. The guns, it is observed, could not be fired till a light had been struck, and this is not the work of a moment; so that, says Mr. Stephens, "although these inconvenient implements do well enough for contests with their brother Bedouins, the odds are very much against them, when they have to do with a well-armed Frank. Two pairs of good pistols, and a double-barrelled gun, would have been a match (let the unintentional pun be pardoned) for all our matchlock muskets."

The account given by Mr. Kinnear, who visited Wady Mousa in the year 1839, shows that the dispositions of the Arabs were but little changed since the first appearance of Franks in the country. He and his party had engaged the services of the aged sheik Hussein, who was to accompany them, with a sufficient guard, for 4,500 piasters. The demand originally made by the sheik amounted to 11,250 piasters, or about £112. When it was represented to him that he had taken other travellers for half that sum, he coolly replied, "The agreement was then made at Musr, in the house of your consul: you are treating with me in the desert." On arriving in the neighbourhood of Wady Mousa, Hussein desired the party to leave their tents and luggage behind, that nothing might impede their retreat, should the Fellaheen come upon them. When answered, that they would not leave a man behind, nor even a tent-pin or a stick, the old sheik exclaimed, "You are mad; you are all mad, all you Franks; but I never heard of such madness as this. Do you all want

to be killed?" "What are these Fellahs," was the rejoinder, "that they should kill us, when we are under your protection, sheik?" "Who are they?" he instantly answered. "What are they? May their fathers be accursed! But you cannot do this. I will not go. Other Franks leave all these arrangements with me, and so must you." "See, O sheik," was the reply; "we are under your protection, and not under your command. We do not care what other Franks have done. We have told you what we will do. Shall we say a thing and not do it?" *

Having thus resolved upon pursuing their own course, the travellers set forward. Hussein, finding his remonstrances useless, pointed out a narrow path by which those who were inclined might reach the valley on foot, sooner than it could be possible for the loaded camels to arrive. His instructions were followed; but the travellers had not gone far before they were startled by loud shouts behind them; and looking back they saw that they were pursued by a body of strange Arabs. These were Fellaheen, of whom Hussein had given so terrific an account. They were fifteen in number; had a most savage expression of countenance; were all armed with guns, and each wore in his girdle the long, crooked, murderous-looking Arab knife. Surrounding the travellers, they poured forth a torrent of the most terrible threats, and declared that every kind of torture should be inflicted on the strangers if they dared to proceed. But in a little while the whole affair was peaceably arranged. The chief of the Fellahs represented that the travellers had no right to enter his territory without paying him tribute. When asked what he demanded, he asked for a thousand piasters; but was made contented with three hundred.

This will serve to give the reader some idea of the annoyances and dangers encountered by the travellers who have extended their journey to this remote region of Palestine. Mr. Bartlett, who visited Petra with as little protection as Burckhardt himself, and contemplated its monuments with a similar earnest spirit, escaped the worst perils of the route by not exciting attention to his progress.

But whether alone or in company; whether subjected to countless exactions and dangers, or passing uninterrupted through the valley, every traveller speaks in the same tone of profound wonder and delight, when recounting what he saw, what he thought, and felt when contemplating its wild glens, its awful precipices, and monumental cliffs. The peculiar tendency of the German Schubert's mind, inclined him to give that mystic colouring to his description of these scenes which so well harmonizes with their general character. He beheld in every object which presented itself to his observation as he travelled through this region, something which spoke of ancient holiness and eternal truth. He rejoiced at finding himself on the borders of the land in which Job and his friends had their dwellings. Nature, in her outward aspect, and in her own peculiar way, there reveals to the meditative soul, the same great facts which are found recorded in the life of the

* Cairo, Petra, and Damascus in 1839, p. 124.

patriarch.* The character of the scenery; everything which has form and life in that mysterious region, tells of dispensations when providence, employing symbols, gave to whatever could awaken thought a more marvellous beauty or distinctness. Thus the valley of Petra is described as a gigantic hall, which nature has filled with architectural forms peculiar to her own plastic and creative art. The walls of this magnificent saloon are covered with oriental decorations of the fairest hues; and here may be seen the traces of genius, working from generation to generation, and showing how it has delighted, from the earliest ages, to pursue its labours in this region of solemn wonders.

Roman artists, of the times of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, are supposed to have been the latest of those who here sought to harmonize the expression of human sentiment with the primitive and eternal language of nature. The first who employed the energies of genius in this task, so worthy of its noblest powers, were the descendants of those who "dwelt in the clefts of the rock; who held the height of the hill, and made their nest as lofty as the eagle."†

Such is Petra,—such is Wady Mousa,—the city and valley over which the divine decrees so long suspended an impenetrable veil of obscurity. That the veil has been drawn aside, so as to permit the inquirers of our age and generation, to contemplate these sepulchral solitudes, to trace their sculptured depths and labyrinths, may rightly appear to the thoughtful mind as one among many other indications of the approach to the opening of a new era in the plans of providence. It was not without design, that the scenes to which the revolutions of remote ages had given a peculiar interest should be closed to the observation of the world, while characterized, for the most part, by an uninquiring, or an untractable, spirit of infidelity. Nor is it less designedly that these same scenes, connected as they are with the march of prophetic events, should be again laid open, now that the reviving power of faith is preparing the minds of men for a nearer and more thoughtful contemplation of God's dealings with the human race. Though the eye might rest in rapt amazement on Zion; though it might survey with tender awe and emotion the vale of Nazareth, the broad plain of Esdrælon, and the sublime heights of Tabor, all marked by traces of the one great plan of heavenly providence; the view would be incomplete, did it not extend to that region in which the Almighty displayed his severest judgments, and, cutting it off from the rest of the land, doomed it to lie waste and dark, till the dawn of a new era should awaken hope even for the desolations of Edom.

* Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 417. † Ibid. p. 426. Jer. xlix. 16.

MOUNT SINAI AND THE SURROUNDING REGION.

It is when our thoughts have become familiar with the history of the Holy Land and that of its people, in the various stages of their progress, that the mind can best understand the sublime character of the events of which Sinai, and the region around it, was the scene. Deep as must be the feeling of awe with which, under any circumstances, the mysterious heights of this mountain are contemplated, the sentiment will assume a grander tone when connected with that long line of associations, which link the giving of the law with all that is most important, not merely in the single chapter, momentous as it is, of Jewish history, but in the universal history of mankind.

The country which intervenes between Edom and the region of Sinai was, "that great and terrible wilderness," that land of wonders, of chastisement, and instruction, in which the wisdom of God ordained that his people should pass so many years of probation. Numerous efforts have been made to determine the course pursued by the Israelites in their wanderings. The difficulty of the subject is shown in the very word here employed. It was not a journey which the Israelites were making; but a long and painful progress through a region, the tortuous valleys, the wastes and rugged hills of which were to be traversed and retraversed till the appointed season of trial was fulfilled. Though the valuable inquiries, therefore, of such men as Raumer, Schubert, Robinson, and some others, have served to point out the probable course of the people as to the main divisions of their route, it seems but a doubtful speculation to endeavour to fix the exact path of their wanderings. The intimation given of their being a second time at Kadesh, may suggest to us the probability of their having visited other places more than once, and by different routes. It was said by the holy and heroic leader of the people in these memorable wanderings, "When we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites, as the Lord our God commanded us. And we came to Kadesh-barnea. And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites, which the Lord our God doth give unto us. Behold the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it. Fear not, neither be discouraged."* In the more particular mention of

* Deut. i. 19—21

the places through which they passed, the sacred writer especially notes the wilderness of Paran. Thus it is said, "The children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran;"* and the spies who had been sent to explore the land of Canaan, came, on their return, to "Moses and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh."†

From the manner in which the wilderness of Paran is thus spoken of, it is supposed that it may have been the general name for the whole district, extending from the Sinaitic range of mountains up to the borders of the promised land. It would not be consistent with the nature or design of this work to enter into any geographical details. We have only, therefore, to describe the main features of the region which the traveller passes in pursuing his route from the country of the Edomites to Sinai. The earlier portion of the way is through a sandy valley, dark and desolate. As he continues his course, he finds himself approaching the 'Arabah, a plain, about four geographical miles in width, barren, and bordered by lofty mountains. The soil is chiefly composed of sand, mixed with the debris of granite, porphyry, and greenstone.‡ It is as barren for the most part as the desert. In some few spots a little thin grass covers the ground, and here and there a kind of broom, and other thorny shrubs, are found among the rocks. The 'Arabah is supposed to be the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion-gaber, and formed, it is probably conjectured, the valley of the Jordan, before the destruction of the cities of the plain.§

On arriving at the northern extremity of the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea, the anxious look of the weary traveller is greeted by the appearance of an ancient castle, affording him the prospect of comfort and repose after his painful journey through the waste 'Arabah. This is the famous fortress of Akabah: occupying it is supposed, the site of Elath, and looking down upon the scene of many a stirring event both in the times of the Israelites, and in those of the Crusaders. The castle, which is said to have been built by the heroic Saladin, rises from the midst of a grove of palm-trees; and the wild scenery around is softened by an air of beauty, strikingly contrasted with the character of the country a little beyond the fortress. Schubert says, that he stood and contemplated the shores of the sea, and listened to its echoing waves, as the north wind impelled them between the cliffs, with a feeling which was altogether strange and new. Close at hand, and lit up with the dazzling rays of the mid-day sun, lay the wonderful ruins of the rocky island Jezirat Pharaun, which the rulers of Idumæa and Israel, and those of Egypt, had at different times covered with buildings.‖ Over other ruins by the sea, lying to the north-west of the island, strewed like white bones along the cliffs, rose a flock of sea-gulls: to the north were the green palm-groves of Akabah; behind, almost to the

* Num. x. 12. † Num. xiii. 26. ‡ Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 396.
§ Kinnear, Let. iv. p. 115. ‖ Schubert, b. ii. p. 384.

east, appeared the steep path by which the pilgrim passes over the mountains; while in the west might be seen the opening into the desert of Tyh, the wilderness of wandering, the giant-gates of the place of graves.

The little island of Jezirat Pharaun lies only about three hundred feet from the shore, and looks as if it could be reached by means of the rocks which, at low-water, are seen above the waves. It is formed of two conical hills, about one hundred feet in height, and connected together by a narrow slip of low flat land. A ruined wall runs round the whole circumference of the island, four square towers, apparently of Saracenic origin, intimating the care with which it was formerly defended. An inner wall with turrets and loop-holes incloses a sort of citadel, and the entire island has the air of one of the vast old castles, to which the traditions of the middle ages lend so romantic a character. The few travellers who have explored the island found several of the buildings on it separated from each other by strong walls. In some of the chambers of the larger ruins are marble pillars and tables; and it is hence supposed that, while at one time the island formed a strong military hold, it was also occasionally tenanted at others by luxurious princes, and their followers.*

It is probable that in ancient times this island was a place of considerable importance. Traces have been discovered here of a well-constructed haven; and as this seems to be the only part of the northern end of the gulf which could afford a safe anchorage for ships, it is believed by some writers that this was the site of Ezion-gaber, where Solomon built the ships with which he traded to the rich ports of Ophir. In the middle ages, Jezirat Pharaun was known as the fortress of Ailah, and when Rainald, with a bold party of Crusaders, in the year 1182, made a sudden descent on this district, he endeavoured to possess himself of the island as necessary to secure his conquest.† In this attempt he was defeated by the rapid movements of Malek el Adel, the brother of Saladin. Ships were conveyed by means of camels from the port of Alexandria to the coast of the Arabian Gulf, and Rainald only saved himself by a speedy retreat.

The Castle of Akabah derives its importance from being one of the line of fortresses established for the convenience of pilgrims from Egypt to Mecca. Here, and in similar castles along their route, they find new stores of provisions; fresh supplies of water, and other helps to the accomplishment of their painful journey. As a place of defence, it is sufficiently strong to defy the assaults of the rude warriors who roam the neighbouring deserts, and who possess none of the ordinary means of attempting a siege. But the accumulation of sand-hills on the eastern side is daily lessening its security; and some bold marauder of the wilderness may sooner or later make it the object of a fierce adventure.

From Akabah, the accustomed path winds for some distance along the shore of

* Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 378. † Wilken Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, b. iii. p. 222.

the gulf. The scenery is strange and grand; and in a few hours the road presents every variety of stern sublimity and picturesque loveliness. Having passed the intervening mountains, the traveller enters upon the district of Huddra. "Never," says Lord Lindsay, "did I see such a dismal wilderness. It is neither mountain nor valley, though the Bedouins call it both indifferently, but one vast mass of arid rock; sometimes split into deep ravines, presenting perpendicular walls on either side, and smooth as if cut down like a hay-rick, yet honeycombed in long, narrow, parallel lines, resembling at a distance friezes of Egyptian hieroglyphics; sometimes a succession of isolated rocks, crumbling, as it were, with decay, jagged as if an ocean had torn its way between them, and generally shapeless, though one, as we passed it, singularly resembled a criosphinx. I have not a doubt that Burckhardt is right in his conjecture, that this is the Hazeroth of Moses, where Miriam—nay, the very rocks look stricken with leprosy."*

The singular and awful solemnity of these scenes favours the superstitions feeling of the Arabs, who wander among them. Burckhardt, in speaking of the narrow plain of Nomba, which rises here from the sea to the mountains, says "Ayd told me, that in summer, when the wind is strong, a hollow sound is sometimes heard here, as if coming from the upper country. The Arabs say, 'that the spirit of Moses then descends from Mount Sinai, and in flying across the sea, bids farewell to his beloved mountains.'"† Lord Lindsay himself says, "that as he commenced the long ascent of the Wady Sahal, strange whispering voices, without any visible cause of them, echoed among the rocks; and he relates, that as they were passing the 'Arabah, in momentary expectation of meeting the hostile tribe of the Jellaheens, his companion, Mr. Ramsay, a man, he observes, of remarkably strong sight, and by no means disposed to superstitious credulity, distinctly saw a party of horse, moving among the sand-hills; and though we met none," adds Lord Lindsay, "and afterwards learnt that the enemy had already passed up the valley, I do not believe he was ever able to divest himself of the impression."

Among the solitudes thus calculated to awaken in the soul every sentiment which can connect its feelings with the belief in an unseen world, the wandering Arab makes his temporary abode. Mr. Stephens says, "that among the barren and desolate mountains of this region, there is often to be found a small spot of ground near some fountain, or little reservoir of water, known only to the Arabs, but capable of producing a scanty crop of grass, sufficient to furnish pasture for a few camels, and a little flock of sheep or goats." There the Bedouin pitches his tent,

* Letters, vol. ii. p. 12. Dr. Robertson says, "the determination of this point is perhaps of more importance in biblical history, than would at first appear; for if this position be adopted for Hazeroth, it settles at once the question as to the whole route of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It shows, that they must have followed the route upon which we now were to the sea; and so along the coast, to Akabah; and thence, probably, through the great Wady el Arabah to Kadesh."—Vol. i. p. 223.

† Travels in Syria, p. 517.

and remains till the scanty product is consumed. He then packs up his few household goods, and seeks another pasture ground. The Bedouins are essentially a pastoral people. Their only riches are their flocks and herds; their home is in the wide desert, and they have no local attachments. To-day they pitch their tent among the mountains; to-morrow in the plain: and wherever they plant themselves for the time, all that they have on earth, wife, children, and friends, are immediately around them. In fact, the life of the Bedouin, his appearance and habits, are precisely the same as those of the patriarchs of old. Abraham himself, the first of the patriarchs, was a Bedouin; and four thousand years have not made the slightest alteration in the character, or habits, of this extraordinary people. Read of the patriarchs in the Bible, and it is the best description you can have of pastoral life in the East, at the present day."*

This traveller, like Lord Lindsay, and Schubert,† was deeply impressed with the affecting solemnity of these solitudes. "How still! How almost fearfully still!" he says, "was the idea constantly present to my mind. The mountains were bare of verdure; there were no shrubs or bushes, and no rustling of the wind. The quiet was like that of the ocean in a perfect calm, when there is not a breath of air to curl a wave, or shake the smallest fold in the lazy sail that hangs useless from the yard. Occasionally we disturbed a hare, or a partridge; but we had not met a human being since we left the convent. Once we saw the track of a solitary dromedary, the prints of his feet deeply bedden in the sand, as if urged by one hurrying with hot haste—perhaps some Bedouin robber, flying to his tent among the mountains, with the plunder of some desert victim. We followed it more than an hour; and when we lost sight of it on the rocky road, I felt as if we were more lonely than before."

It was among these desolate mountains; through these wild valleys and their neighbouring plains, barren as the ocean itself, that the people of Israel had to pass in their journey to the land of promise. The traveller as he now wends his way to the scene of the first great event in their history as a covenanted people, can hardly fail to be struck with the singular fact, that it was through a region like this that their mystical and typical course was to be taken. Here nature speaks to the eye and ear, to the heart and spirit, in a language calculated to awaken the dullest soul; and sensual and guilty, indeed, must have been the human beings who could pass through such a land, and not learn to weep, to meditate, and adore.

The immediate approach to Sinai is by a steep rocky valley.‡ As the pilgrim

* Incidents of Travel, chap. xviii. † Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 352.

‡ The difficulty of the ascent is well described in the picturesque language of the old pilgrim. "Erat vero adscensus lubricus, et admodum præruptus; ita ut plerumque manibus pedibusque reptare oporteret: cujus reptationis labor haud facile dixerim quam gravis quamque periculosus erat, ac indigens robusto genu. Quippe quia degravante viatore temere jacentes lapides concedebant, et in adscensu raptissimo (nisi fortiter fixissemus pedem) dimoto uno lapide tota congeries devolvebatur, ac in nos revebat."—Martini à Baumgarten in Braitenbach Peregrinatio, p. 60.

winds his way up the rugged ascent, he feels that no length of time can divest such scenes of their glory or sacredness. The mountains which once shook at the presence of the Lord, will ever, to the eye of devotion, seem to bow their heads beneath his step. Sinai affects the mind with sentiments of the profoundest awe. It has not been visited by those crowds of strangers, the frequent concourse of which has tended to lessen the solemnity of other sacred scenes. Solitude, gloom, and grandeur, reign around; and the time-repeated echo of the thunder which pealed among the heights of Sinai, when the "Lord came to prove"* his people, is now the only sound which stirs the soul of the worshipper of God as he climbs these mysterious paths.

Mount Sinai would probably have been unvisited even by the few travellers who have explored its majestic summit, had not the piety of early ages made its recesses the home of Christian devotion. The noble convent, which stands among the steepest of its precipices, is equally celebrated for the grandeur of the scenes by which it is surrounded, and for the hospitality of its inmates. It is reached by an abrupt path, and the entrance is nearly thirty feet above the last step of the rock by which the traveller makes his approach. The monks, on being informed of the arrival of any one, usually let down a cord, and require the letters which the stranger may have brought. If these satisfy the good fathers that the pilgrim deserves their hospitality, a rope is let down; the stranger secures himself by it as well as he can, and he is then drawn up to the narrow entrance by the sturdiest and best skilled of the convent porters. Few emotions are more pleasurable than those of the traveller, who, after traversing a wild and toilsome path, in which all his feelings have been kept in a state of intense excitement, finds himself greeted by friendly countenances and friendly voices.

The monastery of Mount Sinai traces its origin to the sixth century, and was erected by the liberality of the emperor Justinian. But the whole region had for some ages before been the resort of Christian hermits. They there enjoyed that separation from the world, that protection against vain intruders, or cruel persecutors, which even the desert sometimes failed to afford; and Saint Nilus, and other anchorets of like celebrity, passed many years of solitary devotion amid these stupendous scenes. No sooner, however, had the fame of the primitive recluses become diffused among the churches to which they belonged, than others hastened to fix their abode on Sinai. But this concourse of venerable men, simple as were their manners, quickly attracted the notice of the Saracens. They were assailed by these cruel enemies with as much ferocity as if they had been foreknown as the brethren of a future race of Crusaders. The mangled bodies of the poor monks long lay scattered among the rocks which had so often witnessed their devotion.

Another attack was made upon the monks of Sinai about twenty years after the former, and accompanied with circumstances equally horrible and sanguinary.

* Exodus xx. 20.

These occurrences induced Justinian to lay the foundation of a monastery, the strength and situation of which might enable even a body of simple and peaceable monks to resist the assault of their enemies.* The plan of the edifice, its fitness for lodging a numerous garrison, and the provision made to supply the inmates with water, and other necessaries, in case of a siege, show how well the intentions of the emperor were fulfilled. Caution is still felt to be necessary to guard the convent against surprise. The only entrance, as we have seen, by which strangers are admitted, is that high up the rocks, and to which they can only ascend by the aid of the monks. A subterranean passage has been cut through the cliffs. This conducts into the convent garden; but it is carefully guarded at each end with a massive iron-studded gate.†

But notwithstanding the care employed to defend the monastery, the Arabs, in the time of Baumgarten, were still a terror to the monks.‡ One of the brethren told him that sometimes as many as fifty in a day would force their way into the building, and seize upon whatever food they could find. The horror with which the monks learned to look upon the Arabs, so frequently guilty of these violences and excesses, induced them to exert their growing influence with the government, to prohibit the future impositions of their troublesome vassals or neighbours. So stringent was the rule instituted for this purpose, that, for many years, no Arab was allowed to enter the garden. Such was the case up to a very late period; but, according to Dr. Robinson, the Arabs are not now so strictly excluded from the convent, or its precincts. The sheiks, and principal men, are said to be freely admitted into the garden, and sometimes even into the monastery. A number of serfs are still dependent upon the establishment. Of these, several live within the walls; and such appears to be the poverty of the rest, and of the Arabs generally in the immediate vicinity of the convent, that no apprehension is entertained respecting them so long as a sufficient quantity of bread can be found to answer their hungry clamours. "The monks of Mount Sinai," says Mr. Stephens, "are now no longer obliged to have recourse to carnal weapons for protection. Peace reigns between them and the Bedouins; and part of the price of peace is the distribution of two thousand five hundred rolls of bread among the poor around the mountain. I did not think so much of this price when I saw the bread—hard, black, and mouldy, and such as the meanest beggar in our country would not accept from the hand of charity. But the Bedouins took it, and thanked God and the monks for it."

The convent has been described as representing a little fortified town. It is built irregularly. This probably may be accounted for by its having been enlarged at

* It is stated that Justinian sent the monks a hundred vassals from the Red Sea, and as many more from Egypt; but these people destroyed each other in their furious contentions. The number of vassals was at length reduced to about forty.—Pococke, Description of the East, vol. i. p. 152.

† Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 308.

‡ Mart. à Baumgarten Peregrinatio, p. 65. "Intus exiguas et viles habens structuras, quod hodiè prophani Saraceni pro suo voto regunt, diripiunt, pessundant."

different times, or altered to suit the varying circumstances of its inmates. At one period the society consisted of more than a hundred members. Lord Lindsay states that when he visited the monastery, there were not more than twenty brothers to take their seats in the spacious refectory. Every part of the building, however, exhibits some interesting proof of the care and zeal with which it has been guarded against the ravages of time, as well as other enemies. The church is spoken of as a beautiful structure.* Its richly ornamented roof is supported by massive granite columns, and the dome of the choir represents in mosaic-work, supposed to be as old as the times of Justinian, our Lord's transfiguration on the mount. The walls are covered with the pictures of saints, among which are some very ancient specimens of the old Greek style, so common in the middle ages. A splendid candelabrum, presented by Elizabeth of Russia, ornaments and lights the nave; while the reading-desks, which are of tortoiseshell inlaid with mother-of-pearl, afford further proofs of the pious liberality employed in decorating this remote mountain sanctuary—this monument of Christian devotion, the foundations of which are the rocks which trembled at the first thunders of the law.

Tradition has been as busy among the crags and precipices of Sinai as in Jerusalem, or the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Thus a little chapel, within the walls of the convent, is said to be erected on the very spot where the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush;† and a shrub is still growing behind the altar, to which the monks point with reverential feelings, believing it to have sprung from the roots of that illuminated by the divine presence. The chapel itself is very gorgeously ornamented. On the altar lies a New Testament, in modern Greek, very superbly bound; and it may be hoped from this circumstance, and from the display of copies of the Scriptures in other parts of the monastery, that, amid all their regard for relics and traditions, the good monks have a far profounder love for the pure word of God.

The library is not supposed to be rich in manuscripts of any great antiquity or value. Some, however, it contains which the scholar might examine with a fair prospect of reward. A copy of Chrysostom, in several volumes, all written in the same hand, is found here, and may, perhaps, be examined hereafter by some Benedictine to the advantage of religious learning. Travellers also speak of a magnificent manuscript of the Gospels, in capital, or uncial letters of gold, as a treasure of which the fathers of the convent are justly proud. We have no account of the source from

* Pococke says that this church is probably a very perfect model of an ancient Greek church. The east semicircle has round it three degrees of seats, like steps, and in the middle the archiepiscopal chair. A variety of beautiful and costly marbles, brought hither from Damascus, are also mentioned by this traveller; who further states, that the original marble pavement having been destroyed by the Turks, looking for treasures, it was restored with great splendour by the archbishop Athanasius in the seventeenth century.—Description of the East, vol. i. p. 150.

† The traveller is expected to take off his shoes on approaching this venerated spot.—Lord Lindsay, vol. i. p. 342. Schubert says, "It needed not the anxious look of our aged guide to induce me to take off my shoes here. I had already been led to do so by the words which He in the flaming bush spoke to Moses."—Reise, b. ii. p. 309.

which these literary relics have been derived. Their history would probably furnish some very curious illustrations of the state of letters in the middle ages, and some still more interesting proofs of the healthfulness and vigour of individual minds in obscure corners of the earth, while the great masses of mankind were lying in darkness.

The stranger who has time to linger among the courts of this mountain sanctuary, is often more amused than edified by the importance attached to objects for which his cool and chastened imagination can feel no interest. Few, however, will fail to experience some emotion as they contemplate the sarcophagus of Ann of Russia, whose last and most ardent desire it was to have her remains deposited in this monastery. A solemn and sacred sentiment it must be which moves the heart, when, surrounded by the fascinating scenes of the world, and long wedded to its habits and luxuries, it pants for solitude, and indulges the feeling that the repose even of the mouldering frame will be more profound and happier, if it rests where silence is only broken by prayer.

It is a curious circumstance that a little mosque was built about three hundred years ago close to the monastery. The annals of the institution record that it was erected to give the spot a degree of sacredness in the eyes of the Turks, and so prevent their making any destructive attack upon the buildings in the vicinity.

But nothing appears to have left a deeper impression on the minds of travellers in these regions, than the exquisite beauty of the convent gardens. Here the splendours of an oriental clime are blended with the freshest verdure of temperate lands. The mountain breeze murmurs among the branches of cypresses and orange-trees, reminding the northern pilgrim of his home, while contemplating the product of the most ardent suns. Spring, when Schubert * visited these delicious grounds, was pouring along the valley all the fulness of its strength. The almond-trees and peach-trees had covered the paths with their falling blossoms. Every breath of wind brought down a fresh shower of the tinted leaves. The apricot and cherry-trees seemed only just opening into bloom; and pears and apples still lay slumbering in the cradle of their fine large white buds.† In the midst of all this beauty, rose the dark-green boughs of the cypress; and in a recess of the garden, low down in the valley, a little wood of orange-trees mingled its odorous sweetness with the cool breath of the waters collected in well-filled cisterns.

In speaking of Sinai, it should be observed, that great doubts are entertained by biblical inquirers as to the exact portion of the region which ought to be regarded as Sinai. Horeb and Saint Catherine, are two connected elevations, and may either of them lay claim to the distinctive appellation by which the range is more generally known. According to the common accounts, Horeb occupies the

* Reise in das Morgenland, b. ii. p. 307.

† Noch schlummernd in der wiege der grossen, weissen Knospen lagen.

northern, and Sinai the southern extremity of the ridge, both Sinai and Mount Saint Catherine rising to a considerable height above Horeb. It is at the base of this latter mountain that the monastery is situated, and on its capacious brow rested the glory of the Lord, if the most intelligent travellers be right in their conjectures, at the giving of the law. The term Sinai was anciently applied to the whole region; and hence there is no contradiction between the one statement, that the law was given on Sinai, and the other, that Mount Horeb was the actual scene of that august event. Thus it is said, "Mount Sinai was altogether in a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly .... And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount."* But in the book of Deuteronomy we read: "The Lord our God spake unto us in Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount:"† and, "The day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb, when the Lord said unto me, Gather me the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children. And ye came near, and stood under the mountain; and the mountain burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness."‡

Clear, however, as these expressions are, the tradition of many ages has pointed to the far loftier summit of Sinai, strictly so called, as the height upon which the Lord descended, and conversed with his servant Moses. It has hence received the appellation of Jebel Mùsa, or the Mount of Moses; and no doubt seems to have been entertained by the pilgrims of the middle ages, or of even a much earlier period, that it was rightly so called. Mahometan tradition appears to have agreed entirely with the Christian in this respect; and Dr. Robinson candidly acknowledges the effect which the common belief exercised on his mind. But having ascended the mount, his first emotion, he tells us, was one of disappointment. He had hitherto retained a certain degree of feeling in favour of the opinion, founded on the current tradition of at least fifteen centuries. The result, however, of his examination of the locality was, that not the slightest reason exists "for supposing that Moses had anything to do with the summit which now bears his name." He states, that the mount here spoken of is three miles distant from the plain on which the Israelites must have stood; and that it is hidden from it by the intervening peaks of the Mount now known as Horeb.

Thus one of the most striking circumstances in corroboration of the opinion here advanced, is derived from the fact, that the summit of Sinai, pointed out as that on which divine wisdom displayed its presence more signally even than divine power, overlooks no part of the plain on which the hosts of Israel are supposed to have

* Exodus xix. 18—20. † Chap. i. 6. ‡ Chap. iv. 10, 11.

been assembled. It may also be suggested, that there is no reason for supposing, that a scene would have been chosen for the manifestation of the glory of the present Deity, the approach to which would have been prohibited by natural difficulties. The style of the narrative leads to a contrary conclusion. Sinai, as now pointed out, could scarcely have been reached by the mass of the multitude journeying through the wilderness. But there is a valley, with an open space, at the foot of Horeb, sufficiently broad to have received the hosts of Israel. "We were surprised, as well as gratified," says Dr. Robinson, "to find here, in the innermost recesses of these dark granite cliffs, this fine plain spread out before the mountain; and I know not when I have felt a thrill of stranger emotion than when, in first crossing the plain, the dark precipices of Horeb rising in solemn grandeur before us, we became aware of the entire adaptedness of the scene to the purposes for which it was chosen by the great Hebrew legislator. Moses, doubtless, during the forty years in which he kept the flocks of Jethro, had often wandered over these mountains, and was well acquainted with their valleys and deep recesses, like the Arabs of the present day."*

Lofty and precipitous as is Sinai, Mount Saint Catherine rises to a far greater height. The ascent to its summit has been a trial of strength and devotion to travellers from the earliest times. Though covered almost to the very top with verdure, it terminates in a rough, solid granite rock, defying the further ascent of the pilgrim, unless his step derive singular firmness from the spirit of enthusiasm or adventure. By a little company of wanderers, inspired by some feeling of this kind, a place of prayer was erected on the rocky pinnacle of the mountain; and there it still stands, after having braved with its rude walls the storms of unnumbered ages.

The view from Mount Saint Catherine is vast and sublime. Immediately below and around it, the huge crags of the sister mountains assume the appearance of gigantic cities, with their Babel-like towers and monuments heaped up in tremendous ruin. Looking beyond this wilderness of hills, the eye is able to trace the forms of the distant African mountains; the Gulf of Akabah, and even that of Suez. But indescribably sublime as are the heights of this mountain, they have been almost unvisited by the spirit of tradition. The only legend of any note connected with its scenes is that of the saint from whom it derives its name. During one of the early persecutions, it is said, to which the Christians were subjected in Egypt, Catherine, a beautiful and devout virgin, was seized among those who would neither deny their faith nor flee. Having been tied to the rack, and exposed to the most dreadful torture, the wheel broke. This, however, only so far affected the minds of those charged with her execution, as to induce them to let her be be-

* Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 154—176.

headed. Before consigning herself to death, she prayed that her body might be saved from the hands of the heathen, and conveyed to Sinai. Her prayer, it is added, was heard. Angels bore her spotless frame to the sacred mountain, and there, on the steep pathway to its highest peak, left it for a time to give an additional sacredness to the scene. But the monks of the neighbouring valley resolved to provide her a more gorgeous sepulture. They began the search for her remains, and discovered them. As they were descending the mountain with the precious burden, a sudden rustling of partridges directed their attention to a little covert of hawthorn-trees among the ledges of the rock. They entered the shade, and there found for their reward a sparkling fountain of the coolest and purest water.

Tradition has been far more busy in other parts of the region. The cave is still pointed out in which Elijah is said to have dwelt, when, in obedience to the divine admonition, he went, "unto Horeb, the Mount of God."* A deserted convent, long known as the Convent of the Forty, preserves the memory of some holy men who in the early persecutions fell martyrs to the savage tyranny of a heathen emperor. The gardens and orchards around this ruined convent are as blooming as if it were still inhabited. An Arab and his family occupy its chambers, and till the grounds for the fathers of the neighbouring monastery. Olive-trees, apricot and apple-trees flourish luxuriantly in this sheltered spot; and the silence which reigns around, the solitary, deserted appearance of the place, seems to invest with a species of mystery the beauty of its delicious gardens. The verdure was so brilliant when Burckhardt visited it, and the blossoms of the orange-trees sent forth so fine a perfume, that he was transported, he says, in imagination, from the barren cliffs of the wilderness to the luxurious groves of Antioch.†

The convent of Saint Elias is another deserted edifice of a similar kind. At certain periods of the year, the monks visit it, and perform some religious ceremonies. It is also the spot at which the pilgrims rest on their way to the summit of Djebel Mousa; and Burckhardt saw on a large rock in the neighbourhood, numerous Arabic inscriptions engraved, he supposed, by pious travellers, three or four hundred years ago. A curious popular tradition is spoken of by this writer as connected with the ruined church on the Mount of Moses. The Arabs, he says, believe that the tables of the law are buried beneath the pavement of this building; and they have an especial reverence for the place, because they also believe that the rains which fall in the peninsula are under the direct control of Moses. But the monks made use of this notion for their own advantage, and encouraged the Arabs to entertain the idea that they possess a book, called the Taourat, which was sent down from heaven to Moses, and upon the opening and shutting of which depends the supply of rain. For a time, the reverence with which the supposed

* 1 Kings xix. 8. † Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 569.

power of the monks was regarded proved a safeguard to them against the exactions of the Arabs. When a drought happened, they proceeded in a body to the Djebel Mousa, and prayed for rain. If rain fell, it was attributed to the efficacy of their intercessions. "But," it is observed, by a natural inference, "the Bedouins concluded that if the monks could bring rain, they had it likewise in their power to withhold it; and hence whenever a dearth happens, they accuse the monks of malevolence, and often assemble tumultuously in order to compel them to proceed to the mountain, and pray." Thus, some years since, a violent flood desolated the country, and destroyed a great many date-trees. This took place soon after the monks had performed the required service on the mountain. A Bedouin, who had lost his camel and sheep in the torrent, suddenly appeared before the gate of the convent, and expressing his rage with many furious gestures, fired his gun at the building. On being asked why he acted thus, he replied, "You have opened the book so wide that we are all drowned." He was quieted, it is said, by presents and kind treatment; but on leaving the convent he begged the monks to be more careful in future how they opened the Taourat.

In the narrow, stony valley, which Pococke* says was certainly the Vale of Rephidim, near the Convent of the Forty, lies a huge mass of granite, which has been regarded, for many hundred years, as a portion of the rock which Moses struck with his rod. It is described as about twelve feet high, and of irregular shape, but approaching a cube. Several apertures are seen on its surface, and it was from these, it is said, the water gushed forth when the rock was struck. Burckhardt says that most of the fissures in the stone are plainly the work of art; but that three or four may be natural, and hence the original idea of attributing to the whole a miraculous character. As to the present inhabitants of the convent, he remarks, they must be acquitted of any fraud respecting it, for they conscientiously believe that it is the very rock from whence the water gushed forth. But in this part of the peninsula, he adds, the Israelites could not have suffered from thirst. The upper Sinai is full of wells and springs, the greater part of which are perennial; and on whichever side the pretended rock of Moses is approached, copious sources are found within a quarter of an hour of the spot where it lies.†

* Description of the East, vol. i. p. 143.—But what, says Dr. Robinson, in direct opposition to the learned old traveller? "It is hardly necessary to remark, that there is not the slightest ground for assuming any connexion between this narrow valley and Rephidim." So also, in contradiction of what is stated by Burckhardt, &c., respecting the appearance of the fissures in the stone, Dr. Robinson says, "The holes did not appear to us to be artificial, as is usually reported, although we examined them particularly. They belong rather to the nature of the seam: yet it is possible that some of them may have been enlarged by artificial means. The rock is a singular one; and doubtless was selected on account of this very singularity as the scene of the miracle."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 166.

† So also Karl von Raumer, "Dieses gebirg Sinai wo die luft kühl und rein, wo kein böser samum weht, quellen reichlich fliessen."—Der Zug der Israeliten, p. 5.

It is not, however, the monks only who believe that the old tradition respecting this rock is deserving of all possible credit. The Bedouins venerate it as much as the fathers of the convent. They put grass into the fissures, in honour of Moses, as they put grass upon the tombs of their saints; grass being to them the most precious gift of nature, and hence, in their simple notions, the most acceptable offering to the holy.

But the rock of Moses is not the only wonder of this kind, which the wild glens and valleys about Sinai present. A little lower down the valley, from the spot where the rock is seen, a small natural excavation in the cliff is pointed out as the seat of Moses. It resembles a chair, and tradition relates that there the patriarch often rested from his toils, and employed himself in meditation. In all this there is something which may readily associate itself with the images familiar to minds affected by long solitude. The observations which Burckhardt makes on this subject are full of good sense and feeling. He warns the sceptical and haughty traveller against indulging in the hasty ridicule of objects which old habits of thought have associated with great principles, or great facts. Were the monks, or the poor Bedouins, rudely forced to abandon their present train of feeling, without receiving a higher instruction than they have hitherto enjoyed, they would become atheists. How melancholy a reflection is suggested by this remark! Amid the scenes which history consecrates by her sublimest records, the only alternative for those who dwell among them is, superstition or atheism. Still, whatever the ignorance or fanaticism of the monks of Sinai, in respect to things of this kind, they are uniformly spoken of by travellers as equally distinguished for their kindness and hospitality, and their faithful performance of the duties of their profession. "Their manner of living," says Pococke, "is very rigid, and kept more strictly to than in any other convent. They never eat flesh; and in Lent, nothing that is the produce of flesh, as cheese, or the like; and they are permitted to eat oil, and shellfish only on Saturdays, Sundays, and fast days, in Lent; no Greek being allowed to eat any other fish during that season. And any one may conclude how coarsely they fare, when I hardly saw any other dishes there than rice ill-dressed with oil, vinegar and onions, and sometimes with onions and dried fish; the same sort of fish dressed in a soup, dried horse-beans sodden in water, salad, and cheese. They have two severe fasts, which as many as can observe. They eat nothing from Thursday evening to Saturday in the afternoon, on Easter-eve; and from Sunday evening to Ash-Wednesday in the afternoon."

Burckhardt, a hundred years later, speaks in the same manner of the honest devotion of the monks to the severest rules of their order. "Their discipline," he says, "with regard to food and prayer, is very severe. They are obliged to attend mass twice in the day, and twice in the night. The rule is, that they shall taste no flesh whatever, all the year round; and in their great fast, they not only abstain

from butter, and every kind of animal food, and fish, but also from oil, and live four days in the week on bread and boiled vegetables, of which one small dish is all their dinner."* With regard to their devotional practices, Pococke says, that the service of the Greek church was performed in the convent of Mount Sinai with much greater decency than he had ever seen it in any other place, and probably, in strictest accordance with the ancient rule of the Greek church. Their offices, he adds, take up great part of their time. In Lent they rise at midnight, and perform certain devotions; and the sacrament is celebrated four times a week, from nine to eleven, when they dine. Even at other seasons, they begin their services before the dawn of day. Their evening devotions take place at four in the afternoon. These finished, they sup, and soon after return to rest.†

This simple mode of life, combined with the excellent climate of the mountain, is highly favourable to the good health and longevity of the monks. Many of them live to a great age; but it is not now common for those who enter the convent to remain there more than four or five years. They are, for the most part, natives of the Greek islands; and after the period mentioned generally return home, proud, it is said, of having been sufferers among the Bedouins.

The monks of Sinai form a distinct order; and are properly under the government of an archbishop, called in Arabic, the Reys. But his residence in the convent would entitle the Bedouins to certain fees, which they can only demand when he is present. He, therefore, resides at Cairo, where there is another convent belonging to the same brotherhood; and the monastery at Sinai is managed by a prior.

* Travels, p. 549. † Vol. i. p. 152.

FROM SINAI TO SUEZ.

The road by which the traveller leaves the solemn retreats of Sinai and Horeb, on his way to Egypt, is varied for some distance, by the wild forms of the gigantic rocks, which rise on either side. However erudite, he in vain endeavours to interpret the mysterious inscriptions which appear on the face of some of these rugged cliffs. They may have been written by the teachers or the chroniclers of a people living in the remotest generations; they may speak of the fundamental principles upon which the whole structure of ancient intelligence was based; or they may have been engraven on the rock by a succession of solitary Christian travellers, each anxious to leave some memorial, in signs then familiar to his brethren, of the faith which he professed, and of the joys or sorrows which he had experienced on his pilgrim-path.

By degrees, the road opens into a broad, sandy valley. Some few spots of verdure relieve the dreary expanse of desert, which seems to enlarge as the traveller contemplates it, stretching between him and the homes of the peopled world. He at length reaches the spot rendered interesting by the tradition that it was the locality of one of the most stirring, but distressing events in the history of the wanderings of the Israelites. Following the tract as marked by Scripture, Rephidim is the first grand historical site at which the traveller arrives on his way from Sinai to Egypt. That Rephidim could not be far from Horeb is supposed to be proved from the circumstance, that the rock in Horeb was spoken of as the spot where Moses might expect to witness a display of the divine power. Massah and Meribah, *Temptation* and *Strife*, were the names which the place received from the evil dispositions here evinced by the Israelites; and from the consequent chastisement, perhaps, which they suffered in the attack of the Amalekites.*

But however carefully the learned travellers of later times have endeavoured to trace the remarkable stations on this road, their success must be accounted very doubtful. Where their language is not rendered obscure by the difficulty of the subject, their statements are irreconcilably conflicting. It is well, therefore, for the reader if he can content himself with knowing, that the interchange of mountain and valley, of rocky labyrinths and sandy plains, still forcibly illustrates the Scripture narrative, where it speaks of the toils and perils of the wanderers.

* Karl von Raumer, Der Zug der Israeliten, p. 29

Even in the midst, however, of the wilderness, and where so much uncertainty prevails as to many of the most interesting points of inquiry, objects present themselves upon the path of the pilgrim which often awaken trains of thought as instructive as they are affecting.

About nine hours' journey from the monastery of Sinai is the valley of Shomar. Here there is a fine spring, rising in the midst of a romantic little dingle formed of date-trees, a fig-tree of gigantic size, and thick grass. On the side of the cliff which overhangs the spring appear the ruins of a convent, the last, it is said, deserted by the monks formerly inhabiting this district. Over Shomar, the vast granite mountain, which forms so remarkable a feature of the scenery here, rears its brow in dazzling brightness above the surrounding rocks. The summit of this mountain is inaccessible; but at two hundred feet below the highest point, the Gulf of Suez, and the neighbourhood of Tor, are distinctly visible. About five hours from the latter place, to the north, is a lofty eminence, called the mountain of the Bell. The side of this hill, next the sea, consists partly of a mass of very fine sand. This, at certain seasons, falls with a strange, hollow sound, like the ringing of muffled bells; and it is believed, among the Bedouins, that a convent is buried beneath the sand; and that ever and anon its bells thus break the silence of the wilderness.

Mount Serbal is a still more important object to the traveller in the peninsula of Sinai. The ascent is very difficult, but was accomplished by Burckhardt; who says that he found the rock so smooth and slippery, as well as steep, that, though barefooted, he was frequently obliged to crawl upon his belly to avoid being precipitated below. One enormous mass of granite forms the summit of the eastern peak, the smoothness of which, broken only by a few fissures, gives it the appearance of the ice-covered Alps. At a little below the top, the sides of the peak are formed of immense insulated blocks of granite, twenty or thirty feet long, and which seem only just suspended, and ready to fall with hideous ruin into the adjacent valley. Traces of steps regularly formed are found higher up the mountain; and hence there was a time when this wild scene afforded a favourite retreat for many a devout pilgrim, or perhaps meditative scholar. Every rock almost bears some inscription, now nearly illegible, but intimating that those who sought this solitude regarded it, for some reason or the other, as a place consecrated to religion. Burckhardt* was even induced to believe, from the appearance of the caverns and inscriptions round about, that Mount Serbal was once the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula.

Wady Feiran is a beautiful valley, stretching along from the roots of Mount Serbal. On the sides of the mountains by which it is inclosed, appear the ruins of some ancient city. No record exists of this place. The numerous tombs in the

* Travels, p. 609.

neighbourhood have long been tenantless; and though traces may be discovered of an aqueduct, and of towers, and extensive edifices, nothing is known of how the city rose or how it fell.* The valley of Feiran is said to be the finest in the whole country,† and exhibits a series of rich plantations, extending near four miles. Among the date-trees, which here grow luxuriantly, are the rude huts of the Tebna Arabs, skilled as gardeners. During the date-harvest, which lasts for some weeks, the owners of the soil come and erect huts of palm-branches in the valley, and make their sojourn a season of great festivity. Wady Feiran is a continuation of a similar valley, called Wady Sheikh. Laborde‡ describes a pass in this valley as characterized by the wildest grandeur. The cliffs, as they become lower, open into a wider space, and a primitive granite mountain is then seen, which offers no passage to the traveller but by a little opening between two perpendicular walls of vast height. At a sharp turning in the defile, where the deep shadows of the mountain are unbroken, and the voice of the traveller, and the cry of the camel come back in strange, mysterious echos, the eye of the Arab rests with reverential awe upon an isolated rock, which is said by some to have formed the resting-place of Moses, while feeding the flocks of Jethro; and by others to have been that of Mahomet, while still only a camel-driver. Here, it is said, he was wont to sit and meditate, and put into language the earliest of those visions which were to produce such tremendous consequences among the people of the East.

The Wady Mokatteb has been celebrated among travellers, from very early times, for its numerous inscriptions, and other remains of antiquity. Niebuhr was especially instructed by the king of Denmark to examine this spot: and he accordingly made it a particular object in his journey between Suez and Sinai to discover its locality, and the nature of the inscriptions. But having called to his aid three of the sheikhs, most familiar with the country, he found, to his surprise, that not one of them spoke of Wady Mokatteb as meriting the fame which it had obtained among European scholars. In this, the Arabs appear to have been sincere. The inscriptions upon the rocks in the valley of Mokatteb seem to be comparatively of modern date; and would probably, if interpreted, afford no information of any great interest. Yielding, however, to Niebuhr's determination to visit the place, one of the sheikhs agreed to take him thither.§ The journey was accordingly commenced, but instead of conducting him to Wady Mokatteb, the Arab took him to another district, named Sarbout-el-Cadem. Hence the discovery was made to European travellers of a locality infinitely more interesting than that after which Niebuhr was searching; and the remains about which, if their character were really understood, might throw important light on some passages of early history.

* Feiran itself was anciently a bishop's see.— Burckhardt, p. 617.

† Niebuhr, Reisebeschreibung, b. 1. p. 240. ‡ Explication des Planches, p. 44.

§ Reisebeschreibung, b. i. p. 222.

Niebuhr's own account of this spot is slight and imperfect. But he led the way for others. Sir F. Henniker* visited Sarbout-el-Cadem, in 1822, and describes the scene as resembling a churchyard.† A small temple, with several monumental tablets, and a variety of upright stones, all more or less covered with hieroglyphics, prove, beyond doubt, that the place was one of ancient sepulture. The most interesting description both of the monuments, and of the surrounding scenery, is that given by Laborde. Having passed along a difficult mountain pathway, he reached a spot from which he could see the tombs, 'rising as so many phantoms from the midst of the sombre and wild aridity of the desert.' Their antiquity, he considered, must be very great. They extend over a space of about seventy-five paces in length, and thirty-five in breadth. The stones, of which there are about fourteen, are, for the most part, lying amidst heaps of dust, the remains of other monuments. Besides the temple, and other objects already mentioned, there are the fragments of some Egyptian statues, traces of sepulchral chambers, and square capitals, ornamented on each side by the head of Isis, so graceful in its expression, and with its characteristic elongated eyes, and oxen-ears.‡

Many suggestions have been adduced to account for the existence of these monuments in the midst of the wilderness. Laborde supposes that large mining operations may have been carried on here, in very remote ages, and that the tombs now seen were those of the rich possessors of the soil. A more elevating notion is, that here, in the times of Egyptian grandeur, was some well-known sanctuary; and that Moses himself may have referred to this locality, when he desired permission for his people to go three days' journey into the wilderness.§

How gladly might we linger in thought amid the scenes, where Israel gathered their abundant supply of food from heaven; or by those ancient wells, and living waters, which still remind the pilgrim, with such peculiar force, of the divine providence and goodness! But we must hasten on. Elim with its Tamarisk bushes; the well Howara, the supposed Marah of Scripture; and the springs of Moses, have all a charm for the mind, which knows the value of even a name which can aid it in connecting the past with the present.

As the traveller approaches Bir Suez, a well in the desert surmounted by a sort of little castle, the view of the Red Sea gives rise to a new current of thought. On the right appears the fortress of Attaka; and before him a town the aspect of which is as sad as that of the wilderness.

Suez is supposed to occupy the site of an ancient and celebrated city, and thus to have been known by the names of Arsinœ, Cleopatris, Clysmar, and Kolzum, as

* Notes during a Visit to Egypt, p. 245.

† So also, Neibuhr, who speaks of it as, "einen prächtigen Egyptischen todtenacker," p. 235.

‡ Explication des Planches, p. 43.

§ The idea was suggested to Dr. Robinson, by Lord Prudhoe.—Researches, vol. i. p. 116.

well as by its present appellation. Occupying a small promontory at the north end of the Red Sea, it was formerly distinguished as a port, and might still be so, were it not for the rapid increase of sand in its now almost ruined harbour. The present town consists of two squares and two streets, one of which runs parallel to the quay from east to west, while the other is formed of an irregular line of bazaars. For the most part the houses are of the most wretched description. The principal buildings are the palace of the governor, four mosques, and a mansion belonging to a rich Arabian merchant. To these may be added the two khans, which are rendered important by the continual influx of strangers, either proceeding to, or coming from, various parts of the East. No appearance of gardens or fields exists near this melancholy little town. Not a patch of verdure is anywhere to be seen. The desert comes up to the very walls, and even penetrates into the town itself, the broad open spaces between the houses presenting the same aspect as the sandy, death-like wastes of the surrounding neighbourhood. The great carrion-vulture, and the wild dog of the desert, are the only living creatures seen about the place. But gloomy as is the general aspect of Suez, it frequently exhibits a scene of bustle and excitement which has led some travellers to compare it to those Italian cities which are most frequented by strangers.† Thus, the Mograbin of Fez, the Syrian, the native of Djidda, Cosseir, and Souakem, are here to be seen together, presenting the most singular varieties of physiognomy and costume. The whole population, it is said, seems to be composed of guides, or ciceroni, and the town has the appearance of a camp, during the preparation for a march. It is interesting, however, to find that, amid all this stir, the influence of an Eastern clime, the neighbouring desert, and the sense of danger to be encountered by the strangers in their several routes, throw an air of gravity and seriousness over the scene, not to be found in the corresponding movements of a European town.

A good illustration is given of the manner in which the Arab guides treat with those who require their services. A Turk with his two wives and three servants is setting out for Gaza, but is determined not to give more than five piastres for each camel. Hassan had agreed to conduct him; but he now says that he is afraid of meeting a certain Thyat, who had a quarrel with his father sixteen years ago, and who is now said to be on the road to Kerak. Shahoun had seen him travelling towards Nackel. Ali, just come from Sinai, states that he met Mousa, on his way from Hebron, and that he had told him something about a certain Alouin. By this means, the unfortunate traveller is kept in a state of perpetual agitation lest, at the very moment of departure, he should be left without a guide, or be obliged to pay an extravagant sum as an equivalent for the danger to which Hassan pretends he is about to expose himself on his account.†

* Niebuhr remarks, that the town was very lively in his time, 1762, when the ships from Dsjidda came into the port, or were preparing to set sail.—Reisebeschreibung, b. i. p. 230.

† Laborde Eng., pp. 67—69.

The only good water with which the town is supplied is brought from the well of Naba, six miles distant from Suez, among the hills on the Eastern side of the Gulf. It is from this point that the mountain ridge, Er-Ràhah, becomes conspicuous to the traveller journeying towards Sinai, one of the most romantic recesses about which, is known as the Wady Er-Ràhah. At one time the Bedouins possessed such power in the district, that whenever a dispute took place between them and the governors of Cairo, they would place a guard over the well, and prevent the inhabitants from drawing their usual supply of water. It is said to have not unfrequently happened, even in time of peace, that a Bedouin girl would be found in the morning sitting by the side of the well, and refusing to allow the water-carriers to draw any water, unless they presented her with a new garment. They dare not refuse her demand. If they had struck her, or attempted to remove her by force, a war with her tribe would have been the consequence.* The tyranny of the Bedouins has often been exceeded by the governors of the place. In Pococke's time,† the chief authority was in the hands of a sheik. If he suffered the least offence, he prohibited water to be brought from the well of Naba, and the people were obliged to drink the brackish water of the Beer-el-Suez, a well lying about a league distant, to the north of the town. Hence the vast advantage which the place would derive from a canal like that of Trajan, connecting it with the Nile; and the new prosperity which it might look for through the revival of commerce, were the splendid conception of the ancient Sesostris accomplished, and the two seas united.

* Burckhardt's Travels, p. 466. † Observations on Palestine, vol. i .p. 133.

CESARÆA—RHODES—ATHENS—ROME.

We may suppose the traveller in the Holy Land, as either ending, or beginning his pilgrimage, when he arrives at Suez. Of the pious and eloquent writers, whose labours have furnished us with so much information, some commenced, and some terminated their most interesting inquiries at this point. Instead then of pursuing our course through Egypt, a country which is only second in interest to Palestine itself, and which it would require as much space as we have already employed to describe, we will suppose the pilgrim to retrace his steps to Jerusalem. From thence, he may visit some of those spots not already named. As Emmaus; still sought by many a pious traveller, though tradition ventures not to speak of it with its customary confidence; and the Khan-et-Tujjár, the Khan of the Merchants, a place now in ruins, but situated in the romantic valley, between Mount Tabor and Tiberias, and once the most frequented rendezvous of the wealthy of the land. And Sânûr, on its bleak, solitary hill in Samaria. This mountain fortress, though unmentioned in any of the earlier chronicles of the country, has a present interest, from the military importance attached to it in modern times. It was besieged for two months, by the famous Jezzar, at the head of five thousand men, and remained untaken. But, in 1830, Abdallah Pasha of 'Akka, to chastise its rebel chief, assailed it with an Egyptian army, and left it a mass of ruins. How many a scene might still persuade the traveller to linger on his way! how frequently would he pause, had he the liberty, as well as the feelings, which led the Pilgrims of former ages to pursue their solitary path, regardless of aught but the solemnity of the scene, and the thoughts of their own prayerful hearts! There is one spot, however, on the sea-shore, which will tend to leave impressed upon his mind whatever sentiment of sadness he may have experienced in the view of places once famous, but now prostrate with the soil on which they stood. The name of Cesaræa, and this is almost all which remains of it, except the scene which it once animated, immediately recalls to mind the great events in the early progress of the gospel. Here it was that the first Gentile convert* abode; that Philip the Evangelist† dwelt; that St. Paul displayed the power of divine truth against the subtlest of uninspired orators,‡ and that the wretched Herod Antipas,§ worshipped as a god, perished by the most miserable of deaths.

Cesaræa was formerly known as Turris Stratonis. Herod the Great saw how important it would be for the navigation of this part of the Mediterranean to form a port here. He accomplished his design with vast skill and magnificence; and named the new city after his imperial patron. It enjoyed, for a long time, both the

* Acts x. † Acts xxi. 8. ‡ Acts xxiv. § Acts xii. 19, 20.

usual share of prosperity belonging to a city favourably situated for mercantile purposes, and the further advantages derived from its being the resort of the richest and most powerful men of the state. The revolution of ages has pressed heavily upon Cesaræa, and it now exhibits little more than a mass of ruins. "Perhaps," says Dr. Clarke,* "there has not been in the history of the world, an example of any city that in so short a space of time rose to such an extraordinary height of splendour as Cesaræa, or that exhibits a more awful contrast to its former magnificence. Not a single inhabitant remains. Its theatres, once resounding with the shouts of multitudes, now only echo to the nightly cries of wild animals, roaming after their prey. Of its gorgeous palaces and temples, enriched with the choicest works of art, and decorated with the most precious marbles, scarcely a trace can be discovered." Thus, as in so many other instances, Cesaræa, with all its pomp and glory, would now want a place even in the common catalogue of cities, but for the simple fact, that here a Roman soldier was taught the gospel, and that an apostle of Christ bore witness to the divinity of his faith.

But when, at length, he takes leave of this land of sacred mystery and old renown, the traveller will notice with far more than ordinary feelings, the scenes which have derived a consecration from the presence of those who taught in the name of the God and the Saviour, whose Spirit alone it was which gave holiness and glory to Palestine. Thus meeting, here and there, with the footsteps of the first missionaries of the gospel, he will regard the harbour of Rhodes† with a peculiar interest, because within that port St. Paul rested in his memorable voyage to Italy. The famous colossal statue, which was seventy cubits high, and fifty fathoms wide, was thrown down centuries ago by a terrible earthquake. A Jew of Alexandria purchased the brass, and loaded nine hundred camels with the metal. Rhodes has since been distinguished as belonging to the Knights of St. John. The remains of their fine old fortress correspond well with the chivalrous history of the order; and the Church of St. John, though now converted into a mosque, still exhibits traces of the sumptuous character of the ancient edifice. Relics of the middle ages are to be found in every part of the city; but in its general appearance it retains none of its classical splendour, and but little of the picturesque beauty of its mediæval period. The palace of the grand master is a mere ruin, and the hospital has long been converted into public granaries. This desecration of a building with which so many recollections of early Christian benevolence are associated, is one of the most melancholy consequences of the revolutions to which the city has been exposed.

The island of Rhodes is celebrated for the salubrity of its climate, and the fertility of the soil. Its fine timber has rendered it, from the time of the Romans, a place of great value to the maritime powers, into whose hands it has fallen. Of its gardens and orchards travellers still speak with poetical rapture. The air is laden with perfumes; and the most luxuriant tracts of Eastern lands are not more odo-

* Travels, vol. vi. p. 446. † Acts xxi. 1.

rous than the slopes of the hills in this beautiful island. Mount Artemira, which rises from the centre of its fertile plains, commands a view of the Archipelago; of the shores of Africa; of the bold coast of Caramania, and the romantic summit of Ida.

There are two other places to be noticed for the reason already suggested. Greece, in the time of the apostles, was the connecting link between the East and West; between oriental mysticism and European philosophy. Anxiously, therefore, will the pilgrim on his way from Palestine, bend his gaze upon the shores of that land where divine truth found its surest resting-place, before, in its onward flight, it reached the nations and provinces which it was soon to bless and illuminate with its presence.

Athens, when visited by St. Paul,* had little of the character which it possessed in earlier times. It was no longer the favoured seat of freedom; and the vain rhetorician had taken the place of those who, even when involved in error, panted after, and strove for, truth. But Athens was still great and beautiful. The memory of her glory had not yet so passed away as to leave her hills or her temples without some gleam of splendour. Here and there too might be found among her people men of earnest thought; and it was for these that the apostle made his sublime appeal to universal reason, and to primitive truth, when he preached on Mars' Hill, and convinced Dionysius, the Areopagite. The eminence on which the memorable occurrence here referred to took place, rises at a little distance from the Acropolis, the ancient citadel of Athens. It is a limestone rock, covered with scant verdure, and formerly surmounted by rows of stone seats for the members of the court to which it gave a name. Ages have passed away since any trace could be discovered of the manner in which the tribunal was arranged; but the abrupt and lonely hill, and the stern aspect of the immediate locality, correspond to all our traditionary notions of the Areopagus. The judges of this court were the most venerable men in Greece; no orator was allowed to disturb the unimpassioned course of their deliberations; nor was it till the silence and darkness of night prevailed that they commenced their solemn labours. Crimes of the deepest dye were subjected to their inquiry; and the home of the Eumenides, the spirits charged with the infliction of divine vengeance, was supposed to be in the midst of a solitary grove near where the judges met.

It is matter of doubt, whether Saint Paul was called before the Areopagites to give an account of his proceedings; or whether he chose the scene on which their assemblies conferred so solemn a character, as the best suited for his own intended discourse. From the spot on which he stood, the noblest memorials of Athenian greatness were visible, while the hill itself, according to ancient authority, presented many a symbol of the primitive genius of the nation. "Here," says Pausanias, "is the altar of Minerva Areia, dedicated by Orestes, on escaping punishment for the murder of his mother. Here, also, are two rude stones, upon one of which the

* Acts xvii. 16—22.

accuser stands, and upon the other the defendant. Near this place is a sanctuary of the goddesses called Semnae, but whom Hesiod in the Theogonia names Erinnyes. Æschylus represented them with snakes in their hair; but here their statues have nothing ferocious in their aspect; nor have those of the other subterranean deities here represented, namely, Pluto, Hermes, and the Earth. Here persons acquitted in the court of Areopagus sacrifice; and also others, both strangers and citizens of Athens."*

There is another object in Athens, which may be properly alluded to in this place, because its beauty and magnificence not only characterized, but probably influenced, the mental state of the people whom the apostle visited. This is the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, the noblest edifice, perhaps, which art, in its sublimest mood, ever erected. It was constructed entirely of Pentelic marble, and measured on the upper step of the stylobate, rather more than 227 feet in length, and 101 in breadth. Forty-six Doric columns ornamented its fronts and sides; and at either end was another interior range of six columns. The Parthenon, or the division of the Cella properly so called, was 100 feet in length, and was hence denominated, the Temple of a hundred feet, or Hecatompedum. Of the entire building, Colonel Leake observes,† that its dimensions of 228 feet by 102, with a height of 66 feet to the top of the pediment, were sufficiently great to give an impression of grandeur and sublimity, while this impression was left undisturbed by any obtrusive subdivision of parts. There was nothing in the Parthenon to divert the spectator's contemplation from the simplicity and majesty of mass and outline, which form the most admirable characteristics of a Greek temple. In the hands of Phidias, and his colleagues, the gravity of the Doric order was no obstacle to the decoration of the upper parts of the edifice. Hence the statues and reliefs, as well as the architectural members, were enriched with various colours, giving them the effect of pictures, as well as of groups of statuary, and affording the spectator a fresh source of delight. Thus the adornment of the building was continued to the roof. New enrichments might be added; and hence, long after the edifice had been completed, rows of gilded shields were placed upon the architraves of the two fronts. No Greek temple appears to have been ever so richly adorned with sculpture as the Parthenon. In the midst of the temple rose the colossal statue of Minerva. The æti, or pediments, were decorated with two compositions near eighty feet in length, each consisting of about twenty-four statues of supernatural dimensions. Under the exterior cornice were ninety-two groups, raised in high-relief, from the tablets, four feet three inches square; and along the outside of the cella and vestibules ran the beautiful frieze, 520 feet in length, representing the festival of the Panathenæa. Thus, viewing it in the whole, this wonderful structure seems to be

* Leake's Topography of Athens, vol. i. p. 160. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 262—298.

† Topography of Athens, vol. i. p. 333—337

rightly described, as not merely the best school of architecture in the world, but as "the noblest museum of sculpture, and the richest gallery of painting."*

Great must have been the contrast between Athens, with its sumptuous heathen temples, and Jerusalem, raising only its one altar of sacrifice to the one true God. But still greater must have been the contrast between every scene familiar to the native of Palestine, or dear to those who sought its shores, obedient to a holy faith, and the city of the seven hills, the capital of the Gentile world, the first and the greatest of cities, because the seat of all those varied powers which give to human ambition its surest means of triumph. To the Christian who has tarried, even in thought, amid the sacred memorials of a chosen people, in a promised land, Rome must ever be interesting in this its ancient and historical contrast to Jerusalem. While he surveys from the Capitol the site of the ancient Forum, now so desolate, yet marked with unfading features of traditionary glory, he will feel that here was a fitting scene for the most energetic of Christ's apostles to proclaim their mission. Before them was the spot where the noblest of orators and the fiercest of demagogues by turns enchanted and bewildered the multitude. On one side rose the beautiful temple of Concord; on another, that of Jupiter Tonans. Close at hand was the triumphal arch of Severus. A little beyond, appeared the Via Sacra, a road consecrated to peace and sacred festivity; and, at the end of this, the vast outline of the Coliseum, where the sanguinary shows of gladiators and wild beasts, were soon to derive a deeper horror from the sufferings of Christian martyrs.

On the side of the Capitol, whence this scene might be contemplated, was the Mamertine prison. Within its gloomy walls, so it has been believed, both Saint Peter and Saint Paul were for some time immured. But how vain were the terrors of the persecutor when employed against men who had only left Jerusalem for Rome, to subject the spirit of Rome itself to the power which animated their souls! The Christian in Palestine will often dwell with devout wonder on the history of that faith, which dawning in Nazareth and Capernaum, was so soon to diffuse its refulgent light over Athens and Rome; and show, with its pure beams, the darkness of their boasted splendour. And when, filled with solemn emotion, he traverses the ancient ways, where the very sound of his footstep seems ready to awaken some spirit of the past, how gladly will he resign himself to the power of that benignant truth which is destined, in the revolution of ages, to give to whatever was glorious in Rome, Athens, or Jerusalem, a renewed and nobler existence!

* Wordsworth's Greece, p. 141.

THE END.

London.—Joseph Rickerby, Sherbourn Lane, King William Street

COMPLETION OF

RYALL'S PORTRAITS

OF

EMINENT CONSERVATIVES AND STATESMEN.

Dedicated by permission to the Carlton Club.

This magnificent work forms Two splendid Volumes, folio, in superb morocco bindings, comprising SEVENTY-TWO highly-finished Engravings, by first-rate artists, after Portraits by

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, P.R.A.
SIR G. HAYTER, R.A.
H. W. PICKERSGILL, R.A.

A. F. CHALON, R.A.
T. PHILIPS, R.A.
H. P. BRIGGS, R.A.

And other eminent Painters.

Average size of the Engravings, 9½ inches by 7⅞ inches.

Accompanied by BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS, which have been written expressly for this work, by Members of the Senate, the Bar, and authors of high reputation.

Two Volumes, morocco elegant, gilt leaves, price £8.
Large paper, India proofs, ditto, ditto, £12.

Splendid Pictorial Publications,

Uniform in Size and Style;

EACH WORK IS RICHLY EMBELLISHED BY NUMEROUS SUPERIOR WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

FORMING A

PICTORIAL STANDARD LIBRARY.

In super-royal octavo, appropriately done up in cloth extra, price 18s.

The Pictorial Edition of the Pilgrim's Progress.—Comprising 120 fine Engravings in the New Style on Wood, by the MESSRS. WHIMPER, from Designs made expressly for the purpose, by Artists of the highest celebrity. Also Nine elegant Engravings on Steel, with a Portrait and fac-simile of John Bunyan's Will.

In cloth extra, price 12s.

A new Pictorial Edition of the Holy War.—A most beautiful work, uniform in size and style, forming an appropriate companion to the "PICTORIAL PILGRIM'S PROGRESS." Containing numerous splendid Illustrations designed expressly for this work.

Beautifully printed, in one handsome volume, super-royal octavo, cloth, price £1. 5s.

The Works of Josephus—Pictorial Edition. With an introductory Essay, by the REV. HENRY STEBBING, D.D., F.R.S., Author of the "History of the Christian Church," &c., &c. Illustrated by Eighty fine Woodcuts, from Designs by Melville. Also, eleven Engravings on Steel, and a Portrait of the Author.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

Three very large vols., super-royal 8vo., cloth extra, £3. 13s. 6d.

Occupying nearly three thousand five hundred pages of text.

The Pictorial Edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church.—With an Introductory Essay; and the whole carefully revised and edited by the REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. Illustrated with numerous Wood Engravings, by eminent Artists, together with a series of highly finished Portraits of the leading Characters connected with the Reformation, and other illustrative Plates.

One vol. 25s., cloth.

A new Edition of Shakspere Illustrated.—Comprising the whole of the Dramatic Works of our Immortal Bard; the text of which has been entirely and carefully revised from the best authorities, with copious Introductory Notes to each Play, by eminent writers, explanatory elucidations of all the difficult passages; and an inquiry into the authenticity of his Portraits, by A. WIVELL, ESQ. The Embellishments comprise FORTY-NINE steel Plates, designed by the best Masters, of the Principal Scenes in the various Plays, Landscape Illustrations, &c.

In two volumes, imperial octavo, cloth, £1 13s.

Hume and Smollett's History of England.—Embellished with numerous portraits and scenes of the principal events in English History, engraved both on Wood and on Steel. Preceded by an Essay on the Study of History, by the REV. HENRY STEBBING, D.D. F.R.S. With a Continuation to the tenth year of the reign of QUEEN VICTORIA, by E. FARR, Esq. This portion is complete in one vol. and may be had separately, price £1.

*** This splendid edition of Hume and Smollett's History of England is by far the best that has ever appeared, either as regards the correctness of the matter or the beauty of the illustrations.

In one volume, cloth, lettered and gilt, price 26s.

THE THIRTY-FIFTH THOUSAND OF THE

REV. A. FLETCHER'S "GUIDE TO FAMILY DEVOTION."

A Work written with the intention of aiding and promoting domestic worship in every family where the English language is spoken—not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but also in the Colonies and the United States of America It is entirely free from anything of a sectarian spirit, and has been approved by clergymen of every denomination; some of whose names are given below, testifying that they consider it as greatly tending to spiritualize the worship of that God who is a spirit and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

It comprises a Hymn and a portion of Scripture, with suitable Reflections, and a Devotional exercise for every day; thus presenting an entire Family Service throughout the year; with an Appendix adapted for special seasons and events of Providence; and as Illustrations, sixteen beautiful Scripture subjects, of large size, after Paintings of the highest merit, by Rubens, Rembrandt, Murillo, Vandyk, and others of the Old Masters, embellish the volume.

The following few are selected from the extensive list of eminent ministers who concur in strongly recommending the work to their respective congregations & the public generally.

Rev. J. A. James, Birmingham.
J. Pye Smith, D.D., Homerton.
T. Raffles, LL.D., Liverpool.
F. A. Cox, LL.D., Hackney.
W. B. Collyer, D.D., Peckham.
G. Collison, D.D., Hackney.
Adam Thomson, D.D., Colustream.
Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D., late Vicar of St. Stephen's, London.
J. Harris, D.D., Epsom.
J. Sherman, Surrey Chapel.
James Parsons, York.
W. Jay, Bath.
John Clayton, Poultry Chapel.
Rev. G. Legge, Bristol.
J. Davis, Bristol.
G. Lawson, Selkirk.
T. Binney, Weigh-House.
Samuel Luke, Chester.
John Ely, Leeds.
R. Philip, Maberly Chapel.
Rev. H. Calderwood, Kendal.
J. Sibree, Coventry.
J. Young, Albion Chapel.
Samuel Ransom, Hackney.
J. Gilbert, Islington.
P. Brotherston, Alloa.
J. W. Massie, Manchester.

By the same Author,

In two very neat volumes, cloth, gilt, price £1.

SCRIPTURE NATURAL HISTORY,

A Work designed to illustrate and explain the Sacred Text, by imparting useful and sound knowledge in a pleasing yet attractive form, calculated to inspire the youthful mind with a full sense of the sublime beauties of creation, whilst it elevates the heart to admire the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Most High. Illustrated by 257 elegant Engravings, and a Portrait of the Author.

In two volumes, 16mo., cloth, gilt, price 18s.

SCRIPTURE HISTORY,

Designed for the Improvement of Youth. Embellished with 241 Engravings and an elegant Frontispiece.

Just published, in foolscap 8vo., neatly bound in cloth, price 2s. 6d.

THE BAPTISMAL FONT;

Or, a short Exposition of the Nature and Obligations of Christian Baptism, with an Appendix. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., Minister of the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Little Russell Street, Covent Garden.

In foolscap octavo, cloth, uniform with the above, 2s. 6d.

INFANT SALVATION;

Or, all saved that Die in Infancy. Being an attempt to remove the Difficulties of bereaved Parents, and supply consolation under their afflictions. Dedicated to Lady Verney, of Claydon; and specially addressed to mothers mourning the loss of Infants and Children. By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D.

In one large volume, super-royal octavo, cloth lettered, price 18s.

THE WORKS OF THE REV. JOHN NEWTON,

Late Rector of the united Parishes of St. Mary Woolnooth, and St. Mary Woolchurch-Haw, London. With a Portrait Also, a Life of the Author, by the Rev. Richard Cecil; and an Introduction, by the Rev. Francis Cunningham, Vicar of Lowestoft.

In four volumes, imperial octavo, price Three Guineas.

THE ONLY COMPLETE EDITION OF

THE PRACTICAL WORKS OF RICHARD BAXTER,

Reprinted without abridgment from the Original collected Edition. With an Introductory Essay on the Genius and Writings of Baxter, by Robert Philip. And a fine Portrait of Baxter.

Till this hour Baxter is comparatively neglected. Although his Practical Works are rich magazines of wealth—although mind beams and radiates in every page—although every sentiment uttered is imbued, we might almost say saturated, with piety, and the style is often elevated by his sublime earnestness into more than Demosthenic eloquence—how few there are who can boast of having read more than his "Saint's Everlasting Rest," and his "Call to the Unconverted"—To recover Baxter's works from neglect, and to bring them once again into general notice, is a more important thing than to have raised, if it had been possible, the holy man from his grave. The best part of him lives in his writings—his intellect, his heart, his heavenly mindedness is there. By these, "he being dead, yet speaketh." To every religious family, able to afford a trifle for the purchase of books, these volumes are recommended as containing a complete library of practical divinity. No minister of Christian truth ought to be without them.—*Nonconformist.*

In one volume, imperial 8vo., cloth, price £1 4s.

THE WORKS OF THE REV. ANDREW FULLER.

With a Memoir of his Life, by Andrew Gunton Fuller.

Complete in three useful volumes, royal quarto, cloth, gilt, £4 4s.

THE REV. THOMAS SCOTT'S COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE,

Containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the authorised version. With Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations and Copious Marginal References. A New Edition, with an Introductory Essay, and numerous additional Notes, Critical, Practical, and Explanatory, by the Rev. William Symington, D.D., Glasgow.

*** *The cheapest unabridged Edition of Scott published.*

In royal 16mo., morocco, price 10s. 6d.,

A NEW POCKET BIBLE, WITH SCOTT'S ABRIDGED COMMENTARY,

And Copious Marginal Readings, References, &c. With 28 illustrative Plates by artists of the highest celebrity.

G. VIRTUE'S
ILLUSTRATED PUBLICATIONS AND STANDARD WORKS.

THE ONLY EDITION CONTAINING DR. SYMINGTON'S IMPROVEMENTS.

To be completed in Forty Parts at Two Shillings. Each Part embellished with Two highly-finished Steel Engravings, or Maps, from Drawings made on the Spot by Mr. BARTLETT, in 1846.

The Rev. T. Scott's Commentary on the Holy Bible;

Containing the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version, Illustrated by Original Views of the Scenery and Remarkable Places in and around Jerusalem and the Holy Land, including accurate representations of the Scenes of the most important Events in Sacred History, the Life and Labours of the Saviour, and the Journeys of his Apostles. With an Introductory Essay, and numerous Practical, Explanatory, and Critical Notes, by the Rev. W. SYMINGTON, D.D., Glasgow.

PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATIONS of the Sacred Volume have been long and deservedly popular with the Christian Public, and many valuable works have from time to time appeared on this subject. The Publisher of the ILLUSTRATED EDITION of the Rev. T. SCOTT'S COMMENTARY has no desire to depreciate the value of any of these, but he hopes that the SERIES of ENGRAVINGS which he has determined upon introducing into that Work has peculiar claims upon the attention of every reader of the Bible. It embraces a Collection of beautifully executed Views of all those spots made remarkable by their connexion with the Inspired Narrative, as being the scenes of the most important events in the history of God's chosen people; depicting alike their wanderings in the wilderness, and their sojourn in the Promised Land. It includes also every part of the City of Jerusalem, rendered sacred as the locality of the life and miracles of the Saviour, as well as all those places afterwards visited by St. Paul and the twelve Apostles in the course of their holy mission. These engravings are not imaginative pictures, where fidelity to nature is often sacrificed to the production of artistic effect, and which in many cases have little to recommend them beyond the name and talents of the painter; but, on the contrary, they are, in every instance, accurate representations of the present state of the places mentioned, having been all executed from Drawings taken on the spot in the course of last year by W. H. BARTLETT, Esq., who visited the Holy Land expressly for the purpose of furnishing the Public with a faithful picture of Jerusalem, and the land of Judea, in the nineteenth century.

Now Publishing, in Parts at One Shilling. (Each Part containing Four highly-finished Engravings on Steel.)

Caledonia Illustrated,

In a Series of about One Hundred and Fifty Splendid Engravings, from Drawings made expressly for the Work, by W. H. BARTLETT and T. ALLOM, &c. The Literary Portion comprises a Historical and Descriptive Picture of Scotland, by WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D. Graduate of the Univ. of Edinburgh; Member of the Hist. Institute of France; Author of "Switzerland," "The Danube," &c.

This Work contains upwards of One Hundred and Fifty Engravings, executed on steel by the first engravers of the day, and, in every instance, after Drawings made upon the spot, and expressly for the Work. Neither pains nor expense have been spared to render the series worthy of the extended patronage which the Publishers confidently hope to obtain, and which can alone repay their outlay in this magnificent undertaking. The accuracy of detail, delicacy of finish, and fidelity to Nature of these Plates, entitle them to rank with any series ever offered to the public, even at the highest charges; while the very low scale at which they are issued renders them accessible to that numerous class, whom the advancement of public taste has imbued with a love of all that is sublime in Nature or beautiful in Art. The Views embrace every point of interest throughout Scotland, whether ancient or modern, inland and maritime. The celebrated localities and romantic scenery rendered immortal by the gifted pens of Scott and Burns, have not been neglected; the most picturesque subjects have been chosen, and the combined abilities of the Artist and the Engraver exerted to realize to the eye those spots which the genius of the novelist and bard has rendered familiar to the minds of thousands, whose avocations preclude them from a Scottish tour, and who it is hoped will find in these volumes an accurate and elegant companion, and a faithful picture of the land of romance and song.

The literary portion of this work will consist of Historical and Topographical Sketches of the Highlands and Lowlands—Political Statistics—Literary and Scientific Institutions—Antiquities—Biographical and Genealogical Notices, Personal Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of Remarkable Characters—National Amusements—Legends—Peculiar Customs, Privileges, and Ceremonies—Mountains—Passes—Lakes—Rivers—Battle Fields—Birth Places or Abodes of Genius, &c.—Natural Produce—Agriculture—Industry—Commerce—and Manufactures. The whole interspersed with Medical Notices of Climate—Natural History—Geology—Botany—Comparative Salubrity of the Upper and Lower Divisions—Mineral Springs, &c., with such other particulars as our limits will permit, or circumstance and occasion may supply.

The Christian in Palestine;

OR, SCENES OF SACRED HISTORY.

Illustrated from Sketches taken by Mr. W. H. BARTLETT, during his recent Journey in the Holy Land. With Explanatory Descriptions, by HENRY STEBBING, D.D.F. R.S. In Twenty Monthly Parts, price 2s., each containing four highly-finished Engravings on Steel, by COUSEN, BENTLEY, BRANDARD, and others.

"Whatever interest may be excited by the history or description of other countries, it can rarely be equalled, and certainly never surpassed, by that which belongs to those given of Palestine, the land of the law and the Gospel.

"'The Christian in Palestine,' and 'Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe.' These interesting publications, which we class together, as issuing from the same press, continue to merit the commendation which their excellence has so unequivocally claimed. They evince considerable taste, with great resources, and a most laudable spirit of artistic enterprise."—*Morning Chronicle*, Aug. 22, 1846.

"This book, in its own department, which we need not say is a deeply interesting one, merits similar praise with the work which we have just noticed ['Royal Gems.'] It will prove one of the very best of the pictorial illustrations of the Holy Land."—*Watchman*, July 22, 1846.

II.

Dedicated to H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.

ISSUED MONTHLY.

ROYAL GEMS FROM THE GALLERIES OF EUROPE.

Engraved from Pictures of the Great Masters. With Notices, Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive, by S. C. HALL, F.S.A. Average size, nine inches by six and a half.

It is intended to complete the Work in about Twenty Parts, which will be delivered only to Subscribers in the order in which their names are received. The price of each Part, to contain THREE LINE ENGRAVINGS, from the most esteemed Paintings of the ancient and modern Masters, will be THREE SHILLINGS

III.

In large folio, splendidly bound in cloth and ornamented, £2. 2s.

THE GEMS OF BEAUTY;

Displayed in a Series of Forty-two highly-finished Steel Engravings of various subjects, from Designs by E. T. PARRIS, G. CATTERMOLE, R. HERBERT, and E. CORBOULD, Esqrs., engraved under the superintendence of Mr. CHARLES HEATH; with fanciful Illustrations in Verse, by the COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON.

IV.

In large folio, uniform with "Roberts's Holy Land." price 15s.

BARTLETT'S THREE VIEWS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN JERUSALEM;

Drawn from original materials collected on the spot. Lithographed by J. C. BOURNE, accompanied by Maps and a Descriptive Key.

V.

The Third Thousand, revised and enlarged. Medium octavo, in neat cloth binding, price 10s. 6d.

WALKS ABOUT JERUSALEM.

By W. H. BARTLETT. Illustrated with Nine Engravings on Steel, by COUSEN, BENTLEY, and BRANDARD; a Map; and nearly Forty superior Woodcuts.

The object of this work is to present a correct idea of this memorable city, in our own day, from personal observation; embracing the principal objects of interest, most of which have not been before described. The ANCIENT CITY is illustrated in a brief Essay, with a View as besieged by Titus, drawn from the most careful investigation, and beautifully printed in the new tinted style by the patent process.

VI.

In two handsome volumes, quarto, cloth, gilt, price £3.

SWITZERLAND;

A Series of 108 fine Steel Plates, from Drawings by W. H. BARTLETT, Esq., illustrative of the sublime and beautiful varieties of Helvetian Scenery, with original and spirited letter-press descriptions, by W. BEATTIE, Esq. M.D., forming a complete and instructive Guide to the Traveller through the Swiss and Italian Cantons.

VII.

In one neat quarto volume, cloth, gilt edges, price £2.

THE WALDENSES;

Or, the Protestant Valleys of Piedmont. A highly interesting Series of Engravings, comprising SEVENTY-TWO Views of the Scenery of the Valleys of the Alps, after Drawings by W. H. BARTLETT, W. BROCKEDON, F.R.S., J. D. HARDING, C. STANFIELD, and others. The Text by Dr. BEATTIE.

VIII.

In one volume, price £2 2s.

THE DANUBE ILLUSTRATED.

A Series of 80 Plates, tastefully executed in the highest style, with Historical Text from the pen of DR. BEATTIE. The letter-press, which is enriched by copious extracts from the Legends and Traditions of Germany, before unknown in this country, possesses also the unusual attraction of being Illustrated, in this instance by nearly 80 superior Wood Engravings.

IX.

In two elegant volumes, cloth, gilt, price £3 3s.

SCOTLAND,

Comprising 120 Plates, from Drawings by T. ALLOM, ESQ., and others. With Historical and Descriptive Text, by DR. BEATTIE.

X.

In one volume, cloth, gilt, price £2 2s.

THE BEAUTIES OF THE BOSPHORUS.

By MISS PARDOE, with 80 elaborate Plates, after BARTLETT, illustrative of the Scenery and Costume of the Turkish Empire.

XI.

In two handsome volumes, price £3 3s.

AMERICAN SCENERY,

Comprising 120 highly-finished Plates, after Sketches taken on the spot, by W. H. BARTLETT, ESQ., being Land, Lake, and River Illustrations of Transatlantic Nature; the accompanying descriptions by N. P. WILLIS, ESQ.

XII.

In two splendid volumes, cloth, price £3 3s.

CANADIAN SCENERY,

being a Companion Work to the former, completing MR. BARTLETT'S Series of American Sketches, and forming a fine Series of 120 Plates.

XIII.

In two elegant volumes, cloth, gilt, price £3 3s.

THE SCENERY AND ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

By J. STIRLING COYNE, exemplified in 120 superior plates, by W. H. BARTLETT, ESQ., illustrative of the country, combining striking peculiarities of their national costumes, habits, and traditions.

*** All the above works are uniform in size, and in the character of their illustrations—It may be safely affirmed that a more elegant series of publications has never yet appeared.

The whole of the plates are engraved in a most elaborate style, by J. COUSEN, J. C. BENTLEY, R. BRANDARD, *and other Engravers of established celebrity.*

XIV.

In two neat volumes, cloth, price £3 3s.

FINDEN'S VIEWS OF THE PORTS, HARBOURS, AND WATERING PLACES OF GREAT BRITAIN,

Forming a complete Series of Views of all the points of interest round the entire Coast, whether noted for their Commercial importance, or as places of pleasurable resort. The Plates, 125 in number, are executed in the MESSRS. FINDEN'S best style.

XV.

In two volumes, cloth, price £2 10s.

A COPIOUSLY ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ROBERT BURNS,

Comprising 73 spirited Engravings, after WRIGHT, BARTLETT, and others, with an Introduction to each piece, by the late ALLAN CUNNINGHAM, and the only one published under his immediate superintendence.

XVI.

In one splendid volume, cloth, gilt, price £1 5s. with seventy-two fine Plates.

VIRTUE'S SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATIONS;

Chiefly from the Old Masters. With Historical and Descriptive Notes, by the REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D.

XVII.

In two volumes, quarto, cloth, gilt, price £1 11s. 6d.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM'S GALLERY OF PICTURES,

By the First Masters of the English and Foreign Schools in line engraving, with Critical and Biographical Dissertations, by the late ALLAN CUNNINGHAM. With Ninety-eight beautiful Illustrations on Steel.

XVIII.

In one volume, royal octavo, cloth, gilt, price 15s.

BARTLETT'S VIEWS IN HOLLAND AND BELGIUM,

With Descriptions by PROFESSOR VAN KAMPEN, of Amsterdam; forming a Portable and cheap Traveller's Guide through the Netherlands, with 62 Plates and Map.

XIX.

A COMPLETE BODY OF MUSIC,

Adapted to the growing demand for Music among all classes of the community. In three volumes, super-royal 8vo., in very neat cloth bindings, 33s.—each Volume embellished by an elegant Frontispiece—or in separate Volumes,

I. Psalm Tunes, 236 pages . . . . . 8s.
II. Sacred Music, 348 pages . . . . . 12s.
III. Secular Music—Songs, Duets, Trios, Glees, Madrigals, &c., 360 pages . . . . . 12s.

BEING "THE PEOPLE'S MUSIC BOOK."

By JAMES TURLE, ESQ., Organist of Westminster Abbey;
And EDWARD TAYLOR, ESQ., the Gresham Professor of Music.

The Tunes and Pieces are arranged principally for Four Voices, with an accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte; forming respectively, a complete body of the best Music for the Cathedral, the Church or Chapel, the Family, the Glee Club, and the Madrigal Society.

*** A considerable allowance will be made to Congregations adopting the PSALM TUNES, and taking a number of copies, and Choirs, Choral, and Madrigal Societies, &c., with the sacred and secular music.

XX.

MOZART'S LAST AND GREATEST WORK.

In super-royal oblong quarto, price Six Shillings,

MOZART'S REQUIEM,

Adapted for the first time to English Words chiefly from the Holy Scriptures, with the approbation of the principal Dignitaries of the Church. By the Editors of "The People's Music Book;" the Accompaniments expressly arranged from the original Score.

XXI.

In 1 handsome vol. super-royal 8vo. cloth extra, with gilt leaves, price 18s.

THE "PEOPLE'S EDITION" OF THE WORKS OF BURNS.

Enriched by no less than THIRTY-THREE FINE PLATES, after Wright, Bartlett, and other artists, illustrating the principal subjects of his Poems. With a new life of Burns, and an explanatory introduction to each Poem, by the late ALLAN CUNNINGHAM.

*** The present is the only complete and authentic edition of the Works of the Scottish Bard yet offered to the public, and the only one edited by and published under the immediate superintendence of the late Mr. Cunningham.

Be careful to order "*the People's Edition.*"

XXII.

Complete in two volumes, price £1 1s.

ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY

Of the Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Macedonians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, Alexander the Great, and his successors. Illustrated by many fine Plates, and a series of Maps especially adapted to the work. The whole has been corrected, revised, and many valuable Notes added, by a Clergyman of the Established Church.

*** This is the cheapest and only complete and comprehensive edition of Rollin.

XXIII.

In one volume, royal octavo, cloth lettered, price 14s.

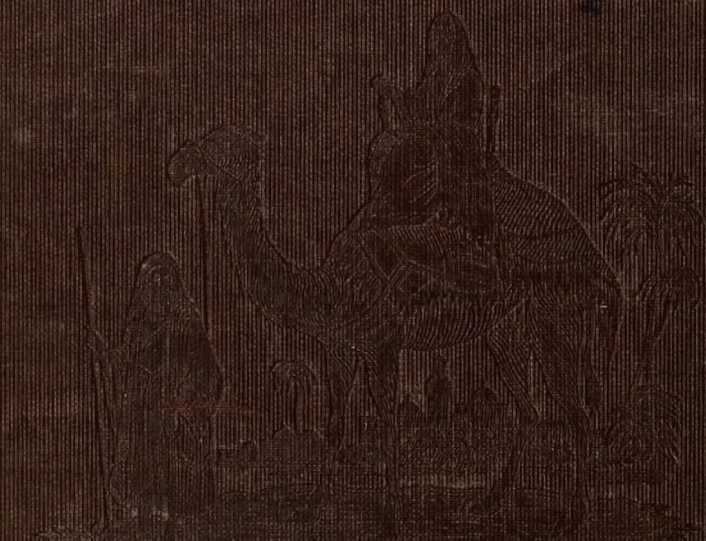
THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS OF JOHN LOCKE.

With a Preliminary Discourse and Notes, by J. A. ST. JOHN, ESQ., containing the Conduct of the Understanding—Essay on the Human Understanding—and Examination of P. MALEBRANCHE'S opinion of seeing all things in God, with remarks upon some of Mr. Norris's Books—Elements of Natural Philosophy,—some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman, &c.

"An edition of the Philosophical Works of Locke has long been wanting. It is in fact matter of surprise, that a body of writings, in which the most popular metaphysical system of modern times is developed, should never before have been presented to the world in a collected form, and detached from all miscellaneous compositions."—*Preliminary Discourse.*

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
305 De Neve Drive - Parking Lot 17 • Box 951388
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90095-1388
Return this material to the library from which it was borrowed.

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
D 000 325 753 2



THE CHRISTIAN IN PALESTINE